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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF *GRAY, WALPOLE, WEST AND ASHTON*

(1734–1771)

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Thomas Gray

From the painting by J.G.Eckhardt in the National Portrait Gallery

THE

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

GRAY, WALPOLE, WEST AND ASHTON

9855 a

(1734–1771)

INCLUDING MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED LETTERS

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

Chronologically arranged and edited with

Introduction, Notes, and Index

by

PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A. D.LITT.

IN TWO VOLUMES

WITH PORTRAITS AND FACSIMILES

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CORRESPONDENCE

OF

GRAY, WALPOLE, WEST, AND ASHTON

133. WEST TO WALPOLE.

March 29. 1741.

My dear Walpole,

SINCE I had finish't the first act, I send you now the rest of it[1]. Whether I shall go on with it, is to me a doubt. I find, you all make the same objections to my stile: but change my manner now I can't, for it would not be all of a piece, & to begin afresh goes against my stomach: so I beleive, I must e'en break it off, & bequeath it to my grand children to be finished, with other old pieces of family work.

Letter 133.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection; the first two paragraphs were printed (with the date 1740 instead of 1741) by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iv, p. 458.

[1] Prefixed to this letter was the concluding portion of the first act of West's tragedy of *Pausanias*. Though, as Miss Berry observes, it is but 'the fragment of a fragment, which beside is certainly liable to all the criticisms of his friend, while it seems hardly to deserve the praise his partiality bestows upon it' (see Letter 136), this specimen of West's dramatic composition is printed (now for the first time), as a literary curiosity, in *Appendix* B. 7.

I have another objection to it, & that is, the unlucky affair of an impeachment in the play. For, supposing the thing public, which it was never intended to be, every blockhead of the faction would swear Pausanias was Greek for Sr. Rt.[2] tho' it may as well stand for Bolingbroke[3]; but the truth is, the Greek word signifies neither one, nor t'other, as you may find in Scapula[4], Suidas[5], & other Lexicographers.

Since I have mention'd Sr. Rt. I might make you a compliment upon his late Victories[6]: but you must not expect it, t'is a national thing, & Every Englishman was as much concern'd in the Succefs, as you were: If ever Sr. Rt. triumph'd, he did that day: He stood the trial & came off with honour, with honour to himself, but with confusion to his adversaries. I am not vers't enough in politics, to judge of your father's administration, but t'is very evident, that no minister could have stood such an attack, as he did, if his administration had been such, as his ennemies would represent it. In Short, I beleive, his Ennemies now repent what they've

[2] On Feb. 13 of this year a motion was introduced in both Houses of Parliament (by Mr. Sandys in the Commons, and by Lord Carteret in the Lords) to request the King 'to remove the Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, from his Majesty's presence and councils for ever'.

[3] Henry St. John (1678–1751), first Viscount Bolingbroke. He was impeached and attainted in 1715, but was subsequently (1723) pardoned by George I.

[4] Johannes Scapula published a *Lexicon Græco-Latinum* in 1580.

[5] Greek lexicographer (fl. *c.* 1100); his lexicon was first printed in 1499.

[6] The motion for his removal was defeated in the Commons by 290 to 160, and in the Lords by 108 to 59—a result due partly to Sir Robert's powerful speech in his own defence, and partly to the disunion of his enemies.

done most heartily, since instead of hurting him, they have only confirm'd him ten times stronger than ever he was.

Mr Chute's[7] reply to my Lady Counteſs was good: nevertheleſs I must diſsent about the Latin translation, not that I adore it, any more than the original[8]. But, I think, the Latin is to the full as far off from the extreme of *Worst*, as the Frensh is from that of *Best*. I'll send you what came into my head, as I read them: if it will bear once reading, excuse it—

How can you doubt if the New King
  Means what he writes, or feigns,
Since what his learned pen conceals,
  His honest sword explains?[9]

I hear Mr Selwyn[10] is better, tho' he still keeps his chamber. I allways loved him. there's a sweetneſs in his temper, and a justneſs in his understanding that please me. Adieu Dr. Sir—

I have room for no more!

[7] John Chute (1701–76), a descendant of Chaloner Chute, Speaker of the House of Commons (1659), son of Edward Chute, of the Vine in Hampshire. Walpole made his acquaintance in Florence in 1740, and they remained close friends until Chute's death.

[8] West here refers to a letter of Walpole's which has not been preserved.

[9] This is apparently an epigram on the new king of Prussia, Frederick the Great.

[10] See Letter 95, n. 7.

134. GRAY TO WEST.

Florence, April 21, 1741.

I KNOW not what degree of satisfaction it will give you to be told that we shall set out from hence the 24th of this month, and not stop above a fortnight at any place in our way[1]. This I feel, that you are the principal pleasure I have to hope for in my own country. Try at least to make me imagine myself not indifferent to you; for I must own I have the vanity of desiring to be esteemed by somebody, and would choose that somebody should be one whom I esteem as much as I do you. As I am recommending myself to your love, methinks I ought to send you my picture (for I am no more what I was, some circumstances excepted, which I hope I need not particularize to you); you must add then, to your former idea, two years of age, reasonable quantity of dullneſs, a great deal of silence, and something that rather resembles, than is, thinking; a confused notion of many strange and fine things that have swum before my eyes for some time, a want of love for general society, indeed an inability to it. On the good side you may add a sensibility for what others feel, and indulgence for their faults or weakneſses, a love of truth, and detestation of every thing else. Then you

LETTER 134.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 113–16.

[1] Mr. Walpole and Mr. Gray set out from Florence at the time specified in this letter. When Mr. Gray left Venice, which he did the middle of July following, he returned home through Padua, Verona, Milan, Turin, and Lyons. *Mason.*

are to deduct a little impertinence, a little laughter, a great deal of pride, and some spirits. These are all the alterations I know of, you perhaps may find more. Think not that I have been obliged for this reformation of manners to reason or reflection, but to a severer school-mistreſs, Experience. One has little merit in learning her leſsons, for one cannot well help it; but they are more useful than others, and imprint themselves in the very heart. I find I have been haranguеing in the style of the Son of Sirach[2], so shall finish here, and tell you that our route is settled as follows: First to Bologna for a few days, to hear the Viscontina sing; next to Reggio[3], where is a Fair. Now, you must know, a Fair here is not a place where one eats gingerbread or rides upon hobby-horses; here are no musical clocks, nor tall Leicestershire women; one has nothing

[2] Jesus the son of Sirach, the alleged author of the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus.

[3] Here Gray and Walpole were destined to part, owing, as Mason records, to 'an unfortunate disagreement between them, arising from the difference of their tempers. The former being, from his earliest years, curious, pensive, and philosophical; the latter gay, lively, and, consequently, inconsiderate: this therefore occasioned their separation at Reggio. Mr. Gray went before him to Venice; and staying there only till he could find means of returning to England, he made the best of his way home, repassing the Alps, and following almost the same route through France by which he had before gone to Italy.' In after years Walpole took upon himself the chief blame in this quarrel, 'confessing that more attention, complaisance and deference on his part to a warm friendship, and to a very superior understanding and judgment might have prevented a rupture, that gave much uneasiness to both, and a lasting concern to the survivor, though in the year 1744 a reconciliation was effected between them by a lady, who wished well to them both' (see Walpole's letter to Mason of 2 March 1773, written at the time that Mason was preparing his Memoir of Gray, the passages of which relating to Walpole were submitted to the latter for revision; see further, *Introd.* § 5).

but masquing, gaming, and singing. If you love operas, there will be the most splendid in Italy, four tip-top voices, a new theatre, the Duke and Dutcheſs in all their pomps and vanities. Does not this sound magnificent? Yet is the city of Reggio but one step above Old Brentford. Well; next to Venice by the 11th of May, there to see the old Doge[4] wed the Adriatic Whore. Then to Verona, so to Milan, so to Marseilles, so to Lyons, so to Paris, so to West, &c. in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Eleven months, at different times, have I paſsed at Florence; and yet (God help me) know not either people or language. Yet the place and the charming prospects demand a poetical farewell, and here it is.

* * Oh Fæsulæ amœna.
Frigoribus juga, nec nimiùm spirantibus auris!
Alma quibus Tusci Pallas decus Apennini
Eſse dedit, glaucâque suâ canescere sylvâ!
Non ego vos posthàc Arni de valle videbo
Porticibus circum, & candenti cincta coronâ
Villarum longè nitido consurgere dorso,
Antiquamve Ædem, et veteres præferre Cupreſsus
Mirabor, tectisque super pendentia tecta.

I will send you, too, a pretty little Sonnet of a Sig^r. Abbate Buondelmonte[5], with my imitation of it.

Speſso Amor sotto la forma
D'amistà ride, e s'asconde:

[4] Luigi Pisani, Doge of Venice, 1735-41; he died within two months (June 17) of the date of this letter, aged 78.

[5] See Letter 129, n. 9.

Poi si mischia, e si confonde
Con lo sdegno, e col rancor.
In Pietade ei si trasforma;
Par trastullo, e par dispetto:
Mà nel suo diverso aspetto
Sempr' egli, è l'isteſso Amor.

Lusit amicitiæ interdum velatus amictu,
Et benè compositâ veste fefellit Amor.
Mox iræ aſsumsit cultus, faciemque minantem,
Inque odium versus, versus & in lacrymas:
Ludentem fuge, nec lacrymanti, aut crede furenti;
Idem est diſsimili semper in ore Deus.

Here comes a letter from you.—I must defer giving my opinion of Pausanias till I can see the whole, and only have said what I did in obedience to your commands[6]. I have spoken with such freedom on this head, that it seems but just you should have your revenge; and therefore I send you the beginning not of an Epic Poem, but of a Metaphysic one[7]. Poems and Metaphysics (say you, with your spectacles on) are inconsistent things. A metaphysical poem is a contradiction in terms. It is true, but I will go on. It is Latin too to increase the absurdity. It will, I suppose, put

[6] West's letter, and that in which Gray criticized his tragedy of *Pausanias* (see Letter 133), have not been preserved.

[7] The beginning of the first book of a didactic Poem, *De Principiis Cogitandi*. The fragment which he now sent contained the first fifty-three lines. *Mason.*—The poem, which is addressed 'Ad Favonium', was first printed by Mason (*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 160–9); it is reprinted in Gosse's *Works of Gray*, vol. i, pp. 185–93. The opening lines of the fourth book, containing an invocation to West after his death, were sent by Gray to Walpole in 1747 (see Letter 162).

you in mind of the man who wrote a treatise of Canon Law in Hexameters. Pray help me to the description of a mixt mode, and a little Episode about Space.

135. WEST TO ASHTON.

Dear Ashton,

West at Paris? would you believe it? and yet 'tis so. How it came about, is another Story. Some time or other, you may know it, but be aſsur'd, I did not come to divert myself. Expect therefore no letters of entertainment from me, I am taken up with something else and consider myself at Paris, just as I did at London. Nevertheleſs, if you have a Mind to hear from an old friend now and then, you shall; have pity too on me, in a strange Country, and write to me sometimes. Be so good as to call or send to Dick's Coffee house[1], and if there are any letters for me, I should be glad to have them sent me. My addreſs is racomandè a Meſsrs Lubhard & Vernil, Banquiers, rue de St Martin a Paris.

Excuse me, I am in haste, as everything here is. Adieu! & don't forget me.

Paris, May 8, N.S. [1741].

Addressed: To
Mr Ashton
at Mrs Lewis's in
Hanover Square
London
pour
Angleterre

Letter 135.—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (pp. 149–50); now reprinted from Mitford's transcript (MS. Brit. Mus. *Add.* 32,562, fol. 169).

[1] See Letter 90, n. 3.

136. WALPOLE TO WEST.

Reggio, May 10, 1741. N.S.

DEAR WEST,

I HAVE received the end of your first act[1], and now will tell you sincerely what I think of it. If I was not so pleased with the beginning as I usually am with your compositions, believe me the part of Pausanias has charmed me. There is all imaginable art joined with all requisite simplicity; and a simplicity, I think, much preferable to that in the scenes of Cleodora and Argilius. Forgive me, if I say they do not talk laconic but low English; in her, who is Persian too, there would admit more heroic. But for the whole part of Pausanias, 'tis great and well worked up, and the art that is seen seems to proceed from his head, not from the author's. As I am very desirous you should continue, so I own I wish you would improve or change the beginning: those who know you not so well as I do, would not wait with so much patience for the entrance of Pausanias. You see I am frank; and if I tell you I do not approve of the first part, you may believe me as sincere when I tell you I admire the latter extremely.

My letter has an odd date. You would not expect I should be writing in such a dirty little place as Reggio: but the fair is charming; and here come all

LETTER 136.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iv, pp. 458–60.

[1] The first act of West's *Pausanias*. (See Letter 133.)

the nobility of Lombardy, and all the broken dialects of Genoa, Milan, Venice, Bologna, &c. You never heard such a ridiculous confusion of tongues. All the morning one goes to the fair undreſsed, as to the walks of Tunbridge: 'tis just in that manner, with lotteries, raffles, &c. After dinner all the company return in their coaches, and make a kind of corso, with the ducal family, who go to shops, where you talk to 'em, from thence to the opera, in mask if you will, and afterwards to the ridotto. This five nights in the week. Fridays there are masquerades, and Tuesdays balls at the Rivalta, a villa of the duke's[2]. In short, one diverts oneself. I paſs most part of the opera in the ducheſs's[3] box, who is extremely civil to me and extremely agreeable. A daughter of the regent's[4], that could please him, must be so. She is not young, though still handsome, but fat; but has given up her gallantries cheerfully, and in time, and lives easily with a dull husband, two dull sisters[5] of his, and a dull court. These two princeſses are wofully ugly, old maids and rich. They might have been married often; but the old duke[6] was whimsical and proud, and never would consent to any match for them, but left them much money, and pensions of three thousand pounds a year apiece. There was a design to have given the eldest to this king of Spain[7], and the duke[8] was to have had the

[2] Francis III of Este, Duke of Modena (1737–80).

[3] Charlotte Aglaé of Orléans, Duchess of Modena (d. 1761).

[4] Philip, Duke of Orléans, Regent of France (d. 1723).

[5] Benedetta Ernestina (b. 1697) and Emilia Giuseppa (b. 1699).

[6] Rinaldo of Este, Duke of Modena (1694–1737).

[7] Philip V.

[8] Francis, Duke of Modena.

Parmesan princeſs[9]; so that now he would have had Parma and Placentia, joined to Modena, Reggio, Mirandola, and Maſsa. But there being a prince of Asturias[10], the old duke Rinaldo broke off the match, and said his daughter's children should not be younger brothers: and so they mope old virgins.

I am going from hence to Venice[11], in a fright lest there be a war with France, and then I must drag myself through Germany. We have had an imperfect account of a sea-fight in America[12]; but we are so out of the way, that one can't be sure of it. Which way soever I return, I shall be soon in England, and there you will find me again

As much as ever yours,

H. W.

137. WEST TO WALPOLE.

Dear Walpole,

I HAVE received your letter from Reggio, of the 10th of May[1], and have heard since that you fell ill there[2], and are now recovered and returning to England

[9] Elizabeth Farnese (d. 1766), only child of Odoardo Farnese, Prince of Parma; m. (1714), as his second wife, Philip V, King of Spain.

[10] Louis, eldest son of Philip V of Spain, by his first wife; reigned as Louis I from 1724 (his father abdicating in his favour) until his death (1725), when his father resumed the crown.

[11] Walpole makes no reference to the fact that he and Gray had quarrelled, and that in consequence the latter had proceeded to Venice alone. (See Letter 134, n. 3.)

[12] Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth attacked Carthagena on March 4, but were obliged to withdraw in April with great loss, having only demolished some outlying fortifications.

Letter 137.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iv, pp. 460–1.

[1] Letter 136.

[2] In *Short Notes of my Life*, speaking of his travels with Gray,

through France. I heard the bad and good news both together; and so was afflicted and comforted both in a breath. My joy now has got the better, and I live in hopes of seeing you here again. The author of the first act of Pausanias desires his love to you; and, in return for your criticism, which seems so severe to him in some parts, and so prodigious favourable in others, that if he were not acquainted with your unprejudiced way of thinking, he should not know what to say to it, has ordered me to acquaint you with an accident that happened to him lately, on a little journey he made. It seems he had put all his writings, whether in prose

Walpole writes: 'In May 1741 we went to the fair at Reggio. There Mr. Gray left me, going to Venice with Mr. Francis Whithed and Mr. John Chute, for the festival of the Ascension. I fell ill at Reggio of a kind of quinsy, and was given over for five hours, escaping with great difficulty.' Joseph Spence, who was at Reggio with Lord Lincoln (see Letter 104, n. 11) at the time of Walpole's illness, was instrumental in saving Walpole's life. In a letter from Reggio (quoted by Singer in his edition of Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. xix) he writes: 'About three or four in the morning I was surprised with a message, saying, that Mr. Walpole was very much worse, and desired to see me; I went and found him scarce able to speak. I soon learned from his servants that he had been all the while without a physician, and had doctored himself; so I immediately sent for the best aid the place would afford, and dispatched a messenger to the minister at Florence *, desiring him to send my friend Dr. Cocchi †. In about twenty-four hours I had the satisfaction to find Mr. Walpole better; we left him in a fair way of recovery, and we hope to see him next week at Venice. I had obtained leave of Lord Lincoln to stay behind some days if he had been worse. You see what luck one has sometimes in going out of one's way. If Lord L. had not wandered to Reggio, Mr. Walpole (who is one of the best natured and most sensible young gentlemen England affords) would have, in all probability, fallen a sacrifice to his disorder.'

* Horace Mann (see Letter 112, n. 4).

† See Letter 129, n. 8.

or rhyme, into a little box, and carried them with him. Now, somebody imagining there was more in the box than there really was, has run away with them; and, though strict inquiry has been made, the said author has learnt nothing yet, either concerning the person suspected, or the box. Since I am engaged in talking of this author, and as I know you have some little value for him, I beg leave to acquaint you with some particulars relating to him, which perhaps you will not be so averse to hear.

You must know then, that from his cradle upwards he was designed for the law, for two reasons: first, as it was the profeſsion which his father followed, and succeeded in, and consequently there was a likelihood of his gaining many friends in it: and, secondly, upon account of his fortune, which was so inconsiderable, that it was impoſsible for him to support himself without following some profeſsion or other. Nevertheleſs, like a rattle as he is, he has hitherto fixed on no profeſsion; and for the law in particular, upon trial he has found in himself a natural aversion to it: in the mean while, he has lost a great deal of time, to the great diminution of his narrow fortune, and to the no little scandal of his friends and relations. At length, upon serious consideration, he has resolved that something was to be done, for that poetry and Pausanias would never be sufficient to maintain him. And what do you think he has resolved upon? Why, apprehending that a general war in Europe was approaching, and therefore, that there might be some opportunity given, either of distinguishing himself, or being knock'd of

the head; being convinced besides, that there was little in life to make one over fond of it; he has chosen the army; and being told that it was a much cheaper way to procure a commiſsion by the means of a friend, than to buy one, to do which he must strip himself of what fortune he has left, he desired me to use what little interest I had with my friends, to procure him what he wanted.

At first I objected to him the weakneſs of his constitution, which might render him incapable of military service, and several other things; but all to no purpose. He told me, he was neither knave nor fool enough to run in debt; and that he must either abscond from mankind, or do something to enable him to live as he would upon a decent rank, and with dignity; and that what he chose was this.

I perceived there was nothing to reply; so I submitted: and as I have some sort of regard for the man, I promised him I would use what interest I had, and frankly told him, I would venture to ask for him what I should hardly ask for myself[3].

Excuse my freedom, dear Walpole; and whether I succeed or not, aſsure yourself, that I shall always be

Yours most affectionately,

R. West.

London,
June 22, 1741.

[3] The answer to this letter does not appear; but Mr. West's increasing bad health must probably have obliged him to drop all thought of going into the army. *Berry.*

138. ASHTON TO WALPOLE.

My dearest Walpole,

SINCE the last letter[1] I receivd from you which tho' it gave me the Pleasure of your Recovery[2], did not however rid me from the fear of a Relapse, I have not been able this Week to pick up one Syllable relating to you. . Judge you what I have felt. an interval of 7 weeks, without one word of intelligence after so dangerous an indisposition, in so remote a place unattended, as I feard, with Physician or friend. I went from Somerset House[3] to Downing St.[4] & from Downing St. to Somerset House. but still nothing. I would fain have persuaded poor Mrs Gr:[5] and myself that if any thing ill had happend we must have heard. My apprehensions would have it. but that[6] was at best conjecture. It might be so, but [it might be][7] otherwise. So dextrously did we impose a cruel deceit upon Ourselves, by admitting no Probability that would make for us, & by stretching every Posibility of the

Letter 138.—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (pp. 58–60); now reprinted from Mitford's transcript (MS. Brit. Mus. *Add.* 32,562, foll. 210–12).

[1] This letter has not been preserved.

[2] See Letter 137, n. 2.

[3] The old Somerset House, built by the Protector Somerset about the year 1550, and pulled down in 1775 to make way for the present building. It was used at this time as a royal residence. What took Ashton there does not appear; possibly Mrs. Gravener (see n. 5) had some employment there. It may be noted that on Dec. 10 of this year Walpole dated a letter to Mann from 'Somerset House, (for I write to you wherever I find myself)'.

[4] Sir Robert Walpole's residence (see Letter 1, n. 7).

[5] No doubt Mrs. Gravener (see Letter 120, n. 9).

[6] Tovey: 'that that'.

[7] These words are omitted from Mitford's transcript.

Contrary into a Demonstration. In short we feard & felt the Worst. If one had told me you were actually dead, it would have been no news to me. I had already attended you to the grave & had become as lifeleſs as if I had been laid there with you. I do solemly protest to you that I would not feel again what I have done on this Occasion, no, not for the inexpreſsible satisfaction of knowing the Contrary. My senses are so benumbd, with so long a Concern, that it was almost beyond the Power of any Pleasure to recall 'em. Dear Mrs G, I thank her, did all she could, I am infinitely obligd to her. She enclosd your letter to me, the Moment she receivd it. I trembled when I opend hers, but when I saw the Jewel within, I do not know, or cannot tell you what I did—This is the third Letter I have wrote to you, since I have had yours. My dear Walpole, I speak sincerely to you. I would not for the World, go over that time again, which I have passd since you left England. I would not, I do aſsure you.... I am like a Man who has been toſsd about a long Winter's Night in uneasy dreams. I have been draggd thro' rivers & thrown down Precipices. Oh! it has been a weary Night. ... Come dear Walpole and bring the day. I could[8] say a thousand things to you, but I will think of nothing but yourself. Tell me, for Gods sake all your intended Motions and let 'em be homeward all. Trifle not with a Constitution which carries more lives in it than your own.

Acton July 5. 1741.

I have not been able to see Mrs Gr. since your letter;

[8] Tovey: 'would'.

I will go on purpose[9] next Week to rejoice with her. Believe me, I am much obligd to her.

West is hic & ubique . . . at Paris[10], at London, in the Country. I never see him. He talks of the Army[11], the Law & the Ministry. He suspects some disagrement between you & ——[12] I hope the broken bone will be stronger when set. Mrs ——[13] came to me in such a Manner as makes me believe she knows the whole.

139. GRAY TO WEST.

[Jan. 1742][1]

AS I know you are a lover of Curiosities, I send you the following, which is a true & faithful Narrative of what pasd in my Study on Saturday the 16th, instant[2]. I was sitting there very tranquil in my chair, when I was suddenly alarmd with a great hubbub of Tongues. In the street, you suppose? No! in my Study, Sir. In your Study say you? Yes & between

9 Tovey: '[on?] perhaps'.

10 See Letter 135.

11 See Letter 137, n. 3.

12 Mitford notes that the blank exists in the original MS. The person in question is obviously Gray.

13 Here again the name is suppressed by Ashton. No doubt he refers to Gray's mother.

LETTER 139.—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (pp. 154–5); now reprinted from Mitford's transcript (MS. Brit. Mus. *Add.* 32,561, foll. 234 ff.).

1. Date conjectural. Tovey was doubtless right in assuming the letter to have been written after Gray's return from abroad. In the letter itself Gray refers to what passed in his study 'on Saturday 16th instant'. The only month between September 1741 (the date of Gray's return) and 1 June 1742 (the date of West's death) in which the 16th fell on a Saturday was January, 1742; to this date, therefore, the letter presumably belongs.

2 See n. 1.

my books, which is more. For why should not books talk as well as Crabs & Mice & files & Serpents do in Esop. But as I listend with great attention so as to remember what I heard pretty exactly, I shall set down the whole conversation as methodically as I can, with the names prefixd.

Mad: Sevigné. . Mon cher Aristote! do get a little farther or you'll quite suffocate me.

Aristotle. . Οὐδεποτε γυνὴ . . . I have as much right to be here[3] as you, and I shan't remove a jot.

M. Sevigné. . Oh! the brute! here's my poor Sixth tome[4] is squeezed to death: for God's sake, Bufsy[5], come & rescue me.

Bufsy Rabutin. . Ma belle Cousine! I would fly to your aſsistance. Mais voici un Diable de Strabon qui me tue: I have nobody in my neighbourhood worth[6] conversing with here but Catullus.

Bruyere[7]. . Patience! You must consider we are but books & so can't help ourselves. for my part, I wonder who we all belong[8] to. We are a strange mixture here. I have a Malebranche[9] on one Side of me, and a Gronovius[10] on t'other.

3 Tovey: 'to this place'.

4 Editions of Madame de Sévigné's letters to Madame de Grignan in six volumes had been published at Paris in 1734–7, and 1738; and at Leyden in 1739.

5 Roger de Rabutin (1618–93), Comte de Bussy, Madame de Sévigné's first cousin. His *Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules* was published *c.* 1665; his *Mémoires* in 1696, and his *Lettres* in 1697.

6 Tovey: 'no one worth'.

7 Jean de la Bruyère (1645–96), author of the *Caractères* (1688).

8 Tovey: 'we belong'.

9 Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), French philosopher of the school of Descartes.

10 Johann Friedrich Gronov (1611–71), German classical scholar.

Locke[11]. . Certainly our owner must have very confusd ideas, to jumble us so strangely together. he has asſociated me with Ovid & Ray the Naturalist[12].

Virgil. . 'Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musæ
Accipiant!'[13]

Hen: More[14]. . Of all the Speculations that the Soul of Man can entertain herself withall; there is none of greater Moment than this of her immortality.

Cheyne[15]. . Every Man after fourty is a fool or a Physician.

Euclid. . Punctum est, cujus nulla est—

Boileau. . Peste soit de cet homme avec son Punctum! I wonder any Man of Sense will have a Mathematician in his Study.

Swift. . In short let us get the Mathematicians[16] banishd first; the Metaphysicians[17] and Natural Philosophers[18] may follow them. &c.

Vade Mecum. . Pshaw! I and the Bible are enough for any one's[19] library.

This last ridiculous Egotism made me laugh so heartily that I disturbd my poor[20] books & they talk'd no more.

[11] John Locke (1632–1704), author of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690).

[12] John Ray (1627–1705), author of *Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ* (1670).

[13] *Georg.* ii. 475, 477.

[14] Henry More (1614–87), Cambridge Platonist.

[15] George Cheyne (1671–1743), Scottish physician.

[16] Tovey: 'Mathematics'.

[17] Tovey: 'Metaphysicks'.

[18] Tovey: 'Philosophy'.

[19] Tovey: 'any one'.

[20] Tovey: 'the poor'.

140. WEST TO GRAY.

I WRITE to make you write, for I have not much to tell you. I have recovered no spirits as yet; but, as I am not displeased with my company, I sit purring by the fire-side in my arm-chair with no small satisfaction. I read too sometimes, and have begun Tacitus, but have not yet read enough to judge of him; only his Pannonian sedition in the first book of his annals, which is just as far as I have got, seemed to me a little tedious. I have no more to say, but to desire you will write letters of a handsome length, and always answer me within a reasonable space of time, which I leave to your discretion.

Popes[1], March 28, 1742.

P.S. The new Dunciad[2]! qu'en pensez vous?

141. GRAY TO WEST.

[April, 1742][1]

I TRUST to the country, and that easy indolence you say you enjoy there, to restore you your

LETTER 140.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 121–2.

[1] David Mitchell's, Esq; at Popes, near Hatfield, Hertfordshire; at whose house he died the 1st of June following. *Mason.*

[2] The fourth book of the *Dunciad* had been published this month (March, 1742), under the title of *The New Dunciad: as it was found in the year MDCCXLI, with the Illustrations of Scriblerus and Notes Variorum.*

LETTER 141.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 122–3.

[1] The date must be either the end of March or the beginning of April, as the letter answers West's of March 28, and West's answer to it is dated April 4.

health and spirits; and doubt not but, when the sun grows warm enough to tempt you from your fire-side, you will (like all other things) be the better for his influence. He is my old friend, and an excellent nurse, I aſsure you. Had it not been for him, life had often been to me intolerable. Pray do not imagine that Tacitus, of all authors in the world, can be tedious. An annalist, you know, is by no means master of his subject; and I think one may venture to say, that if those Pannonian affairs are tedious in his hands, in another's they would have been insupportable. However, fear not, they will soon be over, and he will make ample amends. A man, who could join the *brilliant* of wit and concise sententiousneſs peculiar to that age, with the truth and gravity of better times, and the deep reflection and good sense of the best moderns, cannot choose but have something to strike you. Yet what I admire in him above all this, is his detestation of tyranny, and the high spirit of liberty that every now and then breaks out, as it were, whether he would or no. I remember a sentence in his Agricola that (concise as it is) I always admired for saying much in a little compaſs. He speaks of Domitian, who upon seeing the last will of that General where he had made him Coheir with his Wife and Daughter, 'Satis constabat lætatum eum, velut honore, judicioque: tam cæca & corrupta mens aſ duis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi hæredem, nisi malum principem[2].'

As to the Dunciad[3], it is greatly admired: the

[2] Cap. xliii, *ad fin.*

[3] See Letter 140, n. 2.

Genii of Operas and Schools[4], with their attendants, the pleas of the Virtuosos and Florists[5], and the yawn of dulneſs in the end[6], are as fine as anything he has written. The Metaphysicians' part[7] is to me the worst; and here and there a few ill-expreſsed lines, and some hardly intelligible.

I take the liberty of sending you a long speech of Agrippina[8]; much too long, but I could be glad you would retrench it. Aceronia, you may remember, had been giving quiet counsels. I fancy, if it ever be finished, it will be in the nature of Nat. Lee's Bedlam Tragedy[9], which had twenty-five acts and some odd scenes.

142. WEST TO GRAY.

Popes, April 4, 1742.

I OWN in general I think Agrippina's speech too long[1]; but how to retrench it, I know not[2]: But I

[4] Bk. iv, ll. 45 ff.
[5] Bk. iv, ll. 347 ff.
[6] Bk. iv, ll. 605 ff.
[7] Bk. iv, ll. 239 ff.
[8] The speech herewith sent to Mr. West was the concluding one of the first scene of a tragedy, which I believe was begun the preceding winter. *Mason.* (See Letters 91, n. 7; 142, n. 1.)
[9] Nathaniel Lee (*c.* 1653–92), the dramatist, became insane, and while in Bedlam is said to have written a tragedy in five-and-twenty acts.

LETTER 142.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 136–7.

[1] The fragment of Gray's *Agrippina*, first printed by Mason (*op. cit.*, pp. 128–35), is reprinted in Gosse's *Works of Gray*, vol. i, pp. 103–10.
[2] Mason claims to have obviated the objection against the length of Agrippina's speech, 'not by retrenching, but by putting part of it into the mouth of Aceronia, and by breaking it in a few other places'. 'Originally', he adds, 'it was one continued speech from the line, "Thus even grave and undisturbed Reflection", to the end of the

have something else to say, and that is in relation to the style, which appears to me too antiquated. Racine was of another opinion; he no where gives you the phrases of Ronsard: His language is the language of the times, and that of the purest sort; so that his French is reckoned a standard. I will not decide what style is fit for our English stage; but I should rather choose one that bordered upon Cato[3], than upon Shakespear. One may imitate (if one can) Shakespear's manner, his surprizing strokes of true nature, his expreſsive force in painting characters, and all his other beauties; preserving at the same time our own language. Were Shakespear alive now, he would write in a different style from what he did. These are my sentiments upon these matters: Perhaps I am wrong, for I am neither a Tarpa[4], nor am I quite an Aristarchus[5]. You see I write freely both of you and Shakespear; but it is as good as writing not freely, where you know it is acceptable.

I have been tormented within this week with a most violent cough; for when once it sets up its note, it will go on, cough after cough, shaking and tearing me for half an hour together; and then it leaves me in a great sweat, as much fatigued as if I had been labouring at the plough. All this description of my cough in prose, is only to introduce another description of it in verse,

scene; which was undoubtedly too long for the lungs of any actress.' Unhappily, Mason's garbled version is all that is left to us of *Agrippina*, no copy of the original having been preserved.

3 Addison's tragedy, first produced at Drury Lane in 1713.

4 Spurius Mæcius Tarpa, literary censor under Augustus.

5 The great critic of antiquity (fl. 156 B.C.).

perhaps not worth your perusal; but it is very short, and besides has this remarkable in it, that it was the production of four o'clock in the morning, while I lay in my bed tosing and coughing, and all unable to sleep.——

> Ante omnes morbos importunisima tusis,
> Quâ durare datur, traxitque sub ilia vires:
> Dura etenim versans imo sub pectore regna,
> Perpetuo exercet teneras luctamine costas,
> Oraque distorquet, vocemque immutat anhelam:
> Nec cesare locus: sed saevo concita motu
> Molle domat latus, & corpus labor omne fatigat:
> Unde molesta dies, noctemque insomnia turbant.
> Nec Tua, si mecum Comes hic jucundus adesses,
> Verba juvare queant, aut hunc lenire dolorem
> Sufficiat[6] tua vox dulcis, nec vultus amatus.

Do not mistake me, I do not condemn Tacitus: I was then inclined to find him tedious: The German sedition sufficiently made up for it; and the speech of Germanicus, by which he reclaims his soldiers, is quite masterly. Your New Dunciad I have no conception of. I shall be too late for our dinner if I write any more.

Yours.

[6] Mason: 'Sufficiant'.

143. GRAY TO WEST.

London, April, Thursday[1] [1742].

YOU are the first who ever made a Muse of a Cough; to me it seems a much more easy task to versify in one's sleep, (that indeed you were of old famous for[2]) than for want of it. Not the wakeful nightingale (when she had a cough) ever sung so sweetly. I give you thanks for your warble, and wish you could sing yourself to rest. These wicked remains of your illneſs will sure give way to warm weather and gentle exercise; which I hope you will not omit as the season advances. Whatever low spirits and indolence, the effect of them, may advise to the contrary, I pray you add five steps to your walk daily for my sake; by the help of which, in a month's time, I propose to set you on horseback.

I talked of the Dunciad as concluding you had seen it; if you have not, do you choose I should get and send it you? I have myself, upon your recommendation, been reading Joseph Andrews[3]. The incidents are ill laid and without invention; but the characters

LETTER 143.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 138–41.

[1] Probably April 8.

[2] Jacob Bryant (1715–1804), a school-fellow of West's, in a letter written in 1798, and printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1846 (pp. 140 ff.), says: 'This is, I believe, founded in truth; for I remember some who were of the same house mentioning that he often composed in his dormant state, and that he wrote down in the morning what he had conceived in the night.'

[3] Fielding's novel, which had been published in the previous February.

have a great deal of nature, which always pleases even in her lowest shapes. Parson Adams is perfectly well; so is Mrs. Slipslop, and the story of Wilson; and throughout he shews himself well read in Stage-Coaches, Country Squires, Inns, and Inns of Court. His reflections upon high people and low people, and misses and masters, are very good. However the exaltedness of some minds (or rather as I shrewdly suspect their insipidity and want of feeling or observation) may make them insensible to these light things, (I mean such as characterize and paint nature) yet surely they are as weighty and much more useful than your grave discourses upon the mind[4], the passions, and what not. Now as the paradisaical pleasures of the Mahometans consist in playing upon the flute and lying with Houris, be mine to read eternal new romances of Marivaux[5] and Crebillon[6].

You are very good in giving yourself the trouble to read and find fault with my long harangues. Your

[4] He seems here to glance at Hutchinson,* the disciple of Shaftesbury: of whom he had not a much better opinion, than of his master. *Mason.*

[5] Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux (1688–1763), whose most famous novel, *Marianne*, was published at intervals, in eleven parts, between 1731 and 1741, and was left incomplete.

[6] See Letter 91, n. 9. According to Mason, it was Crébillon's *Égarements du Cœur et de l'Esprit* (published in 1736) that Gray especially admired. The more licentious novels, *Les Amours de Zéokinizul*, and *Le Sopha*, were not published until after this date. Some twenty years later Walpole, writing to Gray from Paris (19 Nov. 1765), says: 'Crébillon is entirely out of fashion, and Marivaux a proverb: *marivauder* and *marivaudage* are established terms for being prolix and tiresome.' (See Letter 233.)

* Mason no doubt means Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), at this time Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow.

freedom (as you call it) has so little need of apologies, that I should scarce excuse your treating me any otherwise; which, whatever compliment it might be to my vanity, would be making a very ill one to my understanding. As to matter of stile, I have this to say: The language of the age is never the language of poetry; except among the French, whose verse, where the thought or image does not support it, differs in nothing from prose. Our poetry, on the contrary, has a language peculiar to itself; to which almost every one, that has written, has added something by enriching it with foreign idioms and derivatives: Nay sometimes words of their own composition or invention. Shakespear and Milton have been great creators this way; and no one more licentious than Pope or Dryden, who perpetually borrow expreſsions from the former. Let me give you some instances from Dryden, whom every body reckons a great master of our poetical tongue.——Full of *museful mopeings*—unlike the *trim* of love—a pleasant *beverage*—a *roundelay* of love—stood silent in his *mood*—with knots and *knares* deformed—his *ireful mood*—in proud *array*—his *boon* was granted—and *disarray* and shameful rout—*wayward* but wise—*furbished* for the field—the *foiled dodderd* oaks—*disherited*—*smouldring* flames—*retchleſs* of laws—*crones* old and ugly—the *beldam* at his side—the *grandam-hag*—*villanize* his Father's fame.——But they are infinite: And our language not being a settled thing (like the French) has an undoubted right to words of an hundred years old, provided antiquity have not rendered them unintelligible. In truth, Shakespear's language is one

of his principal beauties; and he has no leſs advantage over your Addisons and Rowes in this, than in those other great excellencies you mention. Every word in him is a picture. Pray put me the following lines into the tongue of our modern Dramatics:

> But I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks,
> Nor made to court an amorous looking-glaſs:
> I, that am rudely stampt, and want love's majesty
> To strut before a wanton ambling nymph:
> I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
> Cheated of feature by diſsembling nature,
> Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
> Into this breathing world, scarce half made up—[7]

And what follows. To me they appear untranslatable; and if this be the case, our language is greatly degenerated. However, the affectation of imitating Shakespear may doubtleſs be carried too far; and is no sort of excuse for sentiments ill-suited, or speeches ill-timed, which I believe is a little the case with me. I gueſs the most faulty expreſsions may be these—*silken* son of *dalliance*—*drowsier* pretensions—wrinkled *beldams*—*arched* the hearer's brow and *riveted* his eyes in *fearful extasie*. These are easily altered or omitted: and indeed if the thoughts be wrong or superfluous, these is nothing easier than to leave out the whole. The first ten or twelve lines are, I believe, the best[8]; and as for the rest, I was betrayed into a good deal

[7] *Richard III*, i. 1 (*ad init.*).

[8] The lines which he means here are from—*thus ever grave and undisturb'd reflection*—to *Rubellius lives*. For the part of the scene, which he sent in his former letter, began there. *Mason.*

of it by Tacitus; only what he has said in five words, I imagine I have said in fifty lines: Such is the misfortune of imitating the inimitable. Now, if you are of my opinion, una litura may do the business better than a dozen; and you need not fear unravelling my web. I am a sort of spider; and have little else to do but spin it over again, or creep to some other place and spin there. Alas! for one who has nothing to do but amuse himself, I believe my amusements are as little amusing as most folks. But no matter; it makes the hours pass, and is better than ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ ἀμουσίᾳ καταβιῶναι[9]. Adieu.

144. WEST TO ASHTON.

Dear Ashton,

HAD I anything instructive or amusing to send you you should have it: but as I have neither you must excuse me both. but the end of this letter is a Petition. If you can find the burlesque imitation, I left with you of Pope's Verses on his Grotto[1],

[9] Tovey refers to Ælian. *Var. Hist.* ix. 17, where it is stated that the Mitylenæans considered it as the greatest of punishments to be condemned to pass one's life in a state of ignorance and grossness.

Letter 144.—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (pp. 163–4); now reprinted from Mitford's transcript (MS. Brit. Mus. *Add.* 32,562, fol. 163).

[1] His 'Grotto at Twickenham, composed of Marbles, Spars, Gems, Ores, and Minerals'—in reality a tunnel under the high road which divided his garden.

I should be greatly obliged to you, to send it me. Vale mi

Reverendiſsime[2]

RW.

Tuesday April 15 [1742][3].

My compliments to Walpole[4]. I wish he would write & comfort the Sick. 'tis a Christian duty. I apply it to yourself, Doctour, likewise.

145. WEST TO GRAY.

April [1742]

TO begin with the conclusion of your letter[1], which is Greek, I desire that you will quarrel no more with your manner of paſsing your time. In my opinion it is irreproachable, especially as it produces such excellent fruit; and if I, like a saucy bird, must be pecking at it, you ought to consider that it is because I like it. No una litura I beg you, no unravelling of your web, dear Sir! only pursue it a little further, and then one shall be able to judge of it a little better. You know the crisis of a play is in the first act; its damnation or

[2] Ashton was by this time ordained.

[3] There can be little doubt that Tovey was right in assigning the note to this year.

[4] Ashton was at this time residing with Walpole in Downing Street. In a letter addressed from there to Henry Pelham, on May 17 of this year, Walpole asks for the Crown living of Aldingham for 'Mr Ashton of Lancaster, a clergyman who lives with me'. Ashton writes to West from there on June 3 (Letter 152).

LETTER 145.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 142–4.

[1] Letter 143.

salvation wholly rests there. But till that first act is over, every body suspends his vote; so how do you think I can form, as yet, any just idea of the speeches in regard to their length or shortneſs? The connexion and symmetry of such little parts with one another must naturally escape me, as not having the plan of the whole in my head; neither can I decide about the thoughts whether they are wrong or superfluous; they may have some future tendency which I perceive not. The style only was free to me, and there I find we are pretty much of the same sentiment: For you say the affectation of imitating Shakespear may doubtleſs be carried too far; I say as much and no more. For old words we know are old gold, provided they are well chosen. Whatever Ennius[2] was, I do not consider Shakespear as a dunghill in the least: On the contrary, he is a mine of antient ore, where all our great modern poets have found their advantage. I do not know how it is, but his old expreſsions have more energy in them than ours, and are even more adapted to poetry; certainly, where they are judiciously and sparingly inserted, they add a certain grace to the composition; in the same manner as Pouſsin gave a beauty to his pictures by his knowledge in the antient proportions: But should he, or any other painter, carry the imitation too far, and neglect that best of models Nature, I am afraid it would prove a very flat performance. To finish this long criticism: I have this further notion about old words revived, (is not this a pretty way of

[2] Virgil, who borrowed from Ennius, is reported to have said, 'lego aurum in stercore Ennii'.

finishing?) I think them of excellent use in tales; they add a certain drollery to the comic, and a romantic gravity to the serious, which are both charming in their kind; and this way of charming Dryden understood very well. One need only read Milton to acknowledge the dignity they give the Epic. But now comes my opinion that they ought to be used in Tragedy more sparingly, than in most kinds of poetry. Tragedy is designed for public representation, and what is designed for that should certainly be most intelligible. I believe half the audience that come to Shakespear's plays do not understand the half of what they hear.—But finiſsons enfin.—Yet one word more.—You think the ten or twelve first lines the best, now I am for the fourteen last[3]; add, that they contain not one word of antientry.

I rejoice you found amusement in Joseph Andrews. But then I think your conceptions of Paradise a little upon the Bergerac[4]. Les Lettres du Seraphim R. a Madame la Cherubineſse de Q.[5] What a piece of extravagance would there be!

And now you must know that my body continues weak and enervate. And for my animal spirits, they are in perpetual fluctuation: Some whole days I have no relish, no attention for any thing; at other times I revive, and am capable of writing a long letter, as you see; and though I do not write speeches, yet I translate them. When you understand what speech, you

[3] He means the conclusion of the first scene. *Mason.*

[4] Cyrano de Bergerac (1620–55); he was the author of *Histoires Comiques des États et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil*, to which Swift is said to have been indebted in *Gulliver's Travels.*

[5] Parody of the title of a work of Crébillon (see Letter 91, n. 9).

will own that it is a bold and perhaps a dull attempt. In three words, it is prose, it is from Tacitus, it is of Germanicus[6]. Peruse, perpend, pronounce.

146. GRAY TO WEST.

London, April, 1742.

I SHOULD not have failed to answer your Letter immediately, but I went out of town for a little while, which hindered me. Its length (besides the pleasure naturally accompanying a long letter from you) affords me a new one, when I think it is a symptom of the recovery of your health, and flatter myself that your bodily strength returns in proportion. Pray do not forget to mention the progress you make continually. As to Agrippina, I begin to be of your opinion; and find myself (as women are of their children) less enamoured of my productions the older they grow. She is laid up to sleep[x] till next summer;

[6] Mason omits this translation.

LETTER 146.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 145-6.

[x] He never after awakened her; and I believe this was occasioned by the strictures which his friend had made on his dramatic style; which (though he did not think them well founded, as they certainly were not) had an effect which Mr. West, we may believe, did not intend them to have. I remember some years after I was also the innocent cause of his delaying to finish his fine ode on the progress of Poetry. I told him, on reading the part he shewed me, that 'though I admired it greatly, and thought that it breathed the very spirit of Pindar, yet I suspected it would by no means hit the public taste.' Finding afterwards that he did not proceed in finishing it, I often expostulated with him on the subject; but he always replied 'No, you have thrown cold water upon it.' I mention this little anecdote, to shew how much the opinion of a friend, even when it did not convince his judgment, affected his inclination. *Mason.*

so bid her good night. I think you have translated Tacitus very justly, that is, freely; and accommodated his thoughts to the turn and genius of our language; which, though I commend your judgment, is no commendation of the English tongue, which is too diffuse, and daily grows more and more enervate. One shall never be more sensible of this, than in turning an Author like Tacitus. I have been trying it in some parts of Thucydides, (who has a little resemblance of him in his conciseneſs) and endeavoured to do it closely, but found it produced mere nonsense. If you have any inclination to see what figure Tacitus makes in Italian, I have a Tuscan translation of Davanzati[2], much esteemed in Italy; and will send you the same speech you sent me; that is, if you care for it. In the mean time accept of Propertius[3]. * * *

147. WALPOLE TO WEST.

London, May 4, 1742.

Dear West,

YOUR letter[1] made me quite melancholy, till I came to the postscript of fine weather. Your so suddenly finding the benefit of it, makes me trust you will

[2] Bernardo Davanzati (1529–1606), a Florentine; his translation of the *Annals* was published in 1596–1600; a translation by him of the whole of Tacitus was published posthumously (in 1637).

[3] This translation (of the first elegy of the second book) is omitted by Mason. It is printed (from a copy in Gray's handwriting) in Gosse's *Works of Gray*, vol. i, pp. 153–7.

Letter 147.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iv, pp. 462–3.

[1] This letter from Mr. West does not appear. *Berry*.

entirely recover your health and spirits with the warm season: nobody wishes it more than I: nobody has more reason, as few have known you so long.

Don't be afraid of your letters being dull. I don't deserve to be called your friend, if I were impatient at hearing your complaints. I do not desire you to suppreſs them till their causes cease; nor should I expect you to write cheerfully while you are ill. I never design to write any man's life as a stoic, and consequently should not desire him to furnish me with opportunities of aſsuring posterity what pains he took not to show any pain.

If you did amuse yourself with writing anything in poetry, you know how pleased I should be to see it; but for encouraging you to it, d'ye see, 'tis an age most unpoetical! 'Tis even a test of wit, to dislike poetry; and though Pope has half a dozen old friends that he has preserved from the taste of last century, yet I aſsure you, the generality of readers are more diverted with any paltry prose answer to old Marlborough's Secret history of queen Mary's robes[2]. I do not think an author would be universally commended for any production in verse, unleſs it were an ode to the secret committee[3], with rhymes of liberty and property, nation and administration.

[2] *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, From her first coming to Court, To the Year 1710. In a Letter from Herself to My Lord* ——, published in this year (1742), provoked numerous pamphlets in reply, and *A Vindication* of the Duchess, written by Fielding. The Duchess, at this time eighty-two, died two years later.

[3] A secret committee had been appointed in the previous March, to inquire into Sir Robert Walpole's administration during the preceding twenty years.

Wit itself is monopolised by politics; no laugh but would be ridiculous if it were not on one side or t'other. Thus Sandys[4] thinks he has spoken an epigram, when he crinkles up his nose, and lays a smart accent on *ways and means.*

We may indeed hope a little better now to the declining arts. The reconciliation between the royalties is finished[5], and 50,000*l.* a year more added to the heir apparent's revenue. He will have money now to tune up Glover[6], and Thomson[7], and Dodsley[8] again.

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum[9].

Asheton is much yours. He has preached twice at Somerset-chapel[10] with the greatest applause. I do not mind his pleasing the generality, for you know they ran as much after Whitfield[11] as they could after Tillotson[12]; and I do not doubt but St. Jude converted

[4] Samuel Sandys, a republican, raised on the fall of Sir R. W. to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, then degraded to a peer and Cofferer, and soon afterwards laid aside. *Walpole.* — Sandys was created (Dec. 1743) Baron Sandys of Ombersley, Worcestershire. It was he who introduced the motion in the House of Commons in Feb. 1741 for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole from the councils of the King (see Letter 133, n. 2).

[5] After the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole a partial reconciliation took place between the King and the Prince of Wales.

[6] The author of *Leonidas* (see Letter 56, n. 1).

[7] James Thomson (1700–48) was made known to the Prince by Lyttelton, in 1738. The Prince granted him a pension of £100 a year, but withdrew it in 1748, on a quarrel with Thomson's patron, Lyttelton.

[8] Robert Dodsley (1703–64), poet, dramatist, and bookseller.

[9] Juvenal, *Sat.* vii. 1.

[10] The chapel attached to Somerset House.

[11] George Whitefield (see Letter 98, n. 2).

[12] John Tillotson (1630–94), Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom Whitefield said that he 'knew no more about true Christianity than Mahomet'. His popu-

as many honourable women as St. Paul. But I am sure you would approve his compositions, and admire them still more when you heard him deliver them. He will write to you himself next post, but is not mad enough with his fame to write you a sermon. Adieu, dear child! Write me the progress of your recovery[13], and believe it will give me a sincere pleasure; for I am

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

148. WEST TO GRAY.

Popes, May 5, 1742

WITHOUT any preface I come to your verses[1], which I read over and over with excessive pleasure, and which are at least as good as Propertius. I am only sorry you follow the blunders of Broukhusius[2], all whose insertions are nonsense. I have some objections to your antiquated words, and am also an enemy to Alexandrines; at least I do not like them in Elegy. But, after all, I admire your translation so extremely, that I cannot help repeating I long to shew you some little errors you are fallen into by following Broukhusius. * * *[3] Were I with you now, and Propertius

larity as a preacher equalled that of Whitefield at the time of Walpole's reference to the latter.

[13] West died in less than a month from the date of this letter, in the 26th year of his age. *Berry.* —He died at Popes, near Hatfield, on June 1.

LETTER 148.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 146–8.

[1] See Letter 146 *ad fin.*

[2] Jan van Broekhuizen (1649–1707), Dutch classical scholar; he published a critical edition of Propertius in 1702.

[3] I have omitted here a paragraph or two, in which different

with your verses lay upon the table between us, I could discuſs this point in a moment; but there is nothing so tiresome as spinning out a criticism in a letter; doubts arise, and explanations follow, till there swells out at least a volume of undigested observations: and all because you are not with him whom you want to convince. Read only the letters between Pope and Cromwell[4] in proof of this; they dispute without end. Are you aware now that I have an interest all this while in banishing Criticism from our correspondence? Indeed I have; for I am going to write down a little Ode (if it deserves the name) for your perusal, which I am afraid will hardly stand that test. Nevertheleſs I leave you at your full liberty; so here it follows.

ODE.

Dear Gray, that always in my heart
Poſseſsest far the better part,
What mean these sudden blasts that rise
And drive the Zephyrs from the skies?
O join with mine thy tuneful lay,
And invocate the tardy May.

Come, fairest Nymph, resume thy reign!
Bring all the Graces in thy train!
With balmy breath, and flowery tread,
Rise from thy soft ambrosial bed;

lines of the Elegy were quoted, because I had previously omitted the translation of it. *Mason.*

4 Henry Cromwell, a man about town, more than thirty years Pope's senior, with whom he corresponded between 1707 and 1711. The correspondence was published in 1726 by Curll, the bookseller (see Letter 108, n. 2).

Where, in elysian slumber bound,
Embow'ring myrtles veil thee round.

Awake, in all thy glories drest,
Recall the Zephyrs from the west;
Restore the sun, revive the skies,
At mine, and Nature's call, arise!
Great Nature's self upbraids thy stay,
And miſses her accustom'd May.

See! all her works demand thy aid;
The labours of Pomona fade:
A plaint is heard from ev'ry tree;
Each budding flow'ret calls for thee;
The Birds forget to love and sing;
With storms alone the forests ring.

Come then, with Pleasure at thy side,
Diffuse thy vernal spirit wide;
Create, where'er thou turn'st thy eye,
Peace, Plenty, Love, and Harmony;
Till ev'ry being share its part,
And Heav'n and Earth be glad at heart[5].

[5] A version of this Ode, differing considerably from that given by Mason, is printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (pp. 165–6) from a transcript by Gray in the Pembroke MSS.

149. GRAY TO WEST.

London, May 8, 1742.

I REJOICE to see you putting up your prayers to the May: She cannot choose but come at such a call. It is as light and genteel as herself. You bid me find fault; I am afraid I cannot; however I will try. The first stanza (if what you say to me in it did not make me think it the best) I should call the worst of the five (except the fourth line). The two next are very picturesque, Miltonic, and musical; her bed is so soft and so snug that I long to lie with her. But those two lines 'Great Nature' are my favourites. The exclamation of the flowers is a little step too far. The last stanza is full as good as the second and third; the last line bold, but I think not too bold. Now, as to myself and my translation, pray do not call names. I never saw Broukhusius in my life. It is Scaliger[1] who attempted to range Propertius in order; who was, and still is, in sad condition.* * *[2] You see, by what I sent you, that I converse, as usual, with none but the dead: They are my old friends, and almost make me long to be with them. You will not wonder therefore, that I, who live only in times past, am able to tell you no news of the present.

LETTER 149.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 148–50.

[1] Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the great scholar; he published an edition of Propertius in 1577.

[2] Here some criticism on the Elegy is omitted. *Mason.*

I have finished the Peloponnesian war[3] much to my honour, and a tight conflict it was, I promise you. I have drank and sung with Anacreon for the last fortnight, and am now feeding sheep with Theocritus. Besides, to quit my figure, (because it is foolish) I have run over Pliny's Epistles and Martial ἐκ παρέργου; not to mention Petrarch, who, by the way, is sometimes very tender and natural. I must needs tell you three lines in Anacreon, where the expreſsion seems to me inimitable. He is describing hair as he would have it painted.

Ἔλικας δ' ἐλευθέρους μοι
Πλοκάμων ἄτακτα συνθεὶς
Ἄφες ὡς θέλουσι κεῖσθαι[4].

Gueſs, too, where this is about a dimple.

> Sigilla in mento impreſsa Amoris digitulo
> Vestigio demonstrant mollitudinem[5].'

150. WEST TO GRAY.

Popes, May 11, 1742

YOUR fragment is in Aulus Gellius[1]; and both it and your Greek delicious. But why are you thus melancholy? I am so sorry for it, that you see I cannot

[3] In Thucydides.

[4] Mason: 'κεῖθαι'. The passage occurs in *Ode* xxix.

[5] See Letter 150, n. 1.

LETTER 150.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, p. 150.

[1] Not in Aulus Gellius, but, as Mitford points out, in Nonius Marcellus. The passage occurs in the *Compendiosa Doctrina*, Lib. ii. *De Honeste sed Nove Dictis*: 'Mollitudinem, pro mollitiem. Varro Papia papæ, περὶ ἐγκωμίων:

Sigilla, in mento impressa Amoris digitulo,
vestigio demonstrant mollitudinem'

(ed. Müller, i. 195).

forbear writing again the very first opportunity; though I have little to say, except to expostulate with you about it. I find you converse much with the dead, and I do not blame you for that; I converse with them too, though not indeed with the Greek. But I must condemn you for your longing to be with them. What, are there no joys among the living? I could almost cry out with Catullus[2] 'Alphene immemor, atque unanimis false sodalibus!' But to turn an accusation thus upon another, is ungenerous; so I will take my leave of you for the present with a 'Vale et vive paullisper cum vivis.'

151. GRAY TO WEST.

London, May 27, 1742.

MINE, you are to know, is a white Melancholy, or rather Leucocholy for the most part; which though it seldom laughs or dances, nor ever amounts to what one calls Joy or Pleasure, yet is a good easy sort of a state, and ça ne laiſse que de s'amuser. The only fault of it is insipidity; which is apt now and then to give a sort of Ennui, which makes one form certain little wishes that signify nothing. But there is another sort, black indeed, which I have now and then felt, that has somewhat in it like Tertullian's rule of faith, Credo quia impoſsibile est; for it believes, nay, is sure of every thing that is unlikely, so it be but

[2] XXX. 1.

LETTER 151.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 151–5.

frightful; and, on the other hand, excludes and shuts its eyes to the most poſsible hopes, and every thing that is pleasurable; from this the Lord deliver us! for none but he and sunshiny weather can do it. In hopes of enjoying this kind of weather, I am going into the country [1] for a few weeks, but shall be never the nearer any society; so, if you have any charity, you will continue to write. My life is like Harry the fourth's supper of Hens. 'Poulets a la broche, Poulets en Ragôut, Poulets en Hâchis, Poulets en Fricasées [2].' Reading here, Reading there; nothing but books with different sauces. Do not let me lose my desert then; for though that be Reading too, yet it has a very different flavour. The May seems to be come since your invitation; and I propose to bask in her beams and dreſs me in her roses.

Et Caput in vernâ semper habere rosâ [3].

I shall see Mr. * * and his Wife, nay, and his Child too, for he has got a Boy. Is it not odd to consider one's Cotemporaries in the grave light of Husband and Father? There is my Lords * * and * * *, they

[1] Upon a visit to his relations at Stoke. *Mason.*

[2] Gray here associates with Henry IV of France a story of which there are several well-known variants. One of these is given by Boccaccio in the *Decameron* (i. 5), where it is related how the Marchioness of Monferrato entertained the King of France at a supper which consisted of nothing but chicken served in various ways ('cominciò il Rè alquanto a maravigliarsi, conoscendo quivi, che quantunque le vivande diverse fossero, nonpertanto di niuna cosa essere altro che di galline'). Another form of the story gave rise to the proverbial expression 'toujours perdrix'. (See *Notes and Queries*, 11 S. x. 194, 236.)

[3] Propertius, 3 *Eleg.* iii. 44.

are Statesmen[4]: Do not you remember them dirty boys playing at cricket? As for me, I am never a bit the older, nor the bigger, nor the wiser than I was then: No, not for having been beyond sea. Pray how are you?

I send you an inscription for a wood joining to a park of mine; (it is on the confines of Mount Cithœron, on the left hand as you go to Thebes) you know I am no friend to hunters, and hate to be disturbed by their noise.

Ἀζόμενος πολυθήρον ἐκηβόλε ἄλσος ἀνάσσας
τᾶς δεινᾶς τεμένη λεῖπε, κυναγὲ, θεᾶς
Μᾶνοι ἄρ ἔνθα κύνων ζαθέων κλαγγεῦσιν ὑλαγμοὶ,
ἀνταχεῖς Νυμφᾶν ἀγροτερᾶν κελάδῳ.

Here follows also the beginning of an Heroic Epistle; but you must give me leave to tell my own story first, because Historians differ. Maſsiniſsa was the son of Gala King of the Maſsyli; and, when very young at the head of his father's army, gave a most signal overthrow to Syphax, King of the Masæsylians, then an ally of the Romans. Soon after Asdrubal, son of Gisgo the Carthaginian General, gave the beautiful Sophonisba, his daughter, in marriage to the young prince. But this marriage was not consummated on account of Maſsiniſsa's being obliged to hasten into Spain, there to command his father's troops, who were

[4] Lord Sandwich, Lord Halifax, qr. both at Eton in mine and Mr. Gray's time, and early in the Ministry. *Cole.* (MS. note quoted by Mitford). — John Montagu (1718–92), fourth Earl of Sandwich; and George Montagu Dunk (1716–71), second Earl of Halifax. Neither of them had held office at the date of Gray's letter.

auxiliaries of the Carthaginians. Their affairs at this time began to be in a bad condition; and they thought it might be greatly for their interest, if they could bring over Syphax to themselves. This in time they actually effected; and to strengthen their new alliance, commanded Asdrubal to give his daughter to Syphax. (It is probable their ingratitude to Maſsiniſsa arose from the great change of affairs, which had happened among the Maſsylians during his absence; for his father and uncle were dead, and a distant relation of the royal family had usurped the throne.) Sophonisba was accordingly married to Syphax: and Maſsiniſsa, enraged at the affront, became a friend to the Romans. They drove the Carthaginians before them out of Spain, and carried the war into Africa, defeated Syphax, and took him prisoner; upon which Cirtha (his capital) opened her gates to Lælius and Maſsiniſsa. The rest of the affair, the marriage, and the sending of poison, every body knows[5]. This is partly taken from Livy[6], and partly from Appian[7].

SOPHONISBA MASSINISSÆ.
EPISTOLA.

Egregium accipio promiſsi Munus amoris,
Inque manu mortem jam fruitura fero:
Atque utinam citius mandaſses, luce vel unâ;
Transieram Stygios non inhonesta lacus.

[5] Masinissa married Sophonisba, but the Romans demanded her surrender; whereupon Masinissa, to spare her the humiliation of captivity, sent her a bowl of poison with which she put an end to her life.

[6] Livy, xxix. 23; xxx. 3–15.

[7] *Pun.* 10, 27, 28.

Victoris nec paſsa toros, nova nupta, mariti,
Nec fueram faſtus, Roma superba, tuos.
Scilicet hæc partem tibi, Maſsiniſsa[8], triumphi
Detractam, hæc pompæ jura minora suæ
Imputat, atque uxor quòd non tua preſsa catenis,
Objecta & sævæ plausibus urbis eo:
Quin tu pro tantis cepisti præmia factis,
Magnum Romanæ pignus amicitiæ!
Scipiadæ excuses, oro, si tardius utar
Munere. Non nimiùm vivere, crede, velim.
Parva mora est, breve sed tempus mea fama requirit:
Detinet hæc animam cura suprema meam.
Quæ patriæ prodeſse meæ Regina ferebar,
Inter Elisæas gloria prima nurus,
Ne videar flammæ nimis indulsiſse secundæ,
Vel nimis hostiles extimuiſse manus.
Fortunam atque annos liceat revocare priores,
Gaudiaque heu! quantis nostra repensa malis.
Primitiasne tuas meministi atque arma Syphacis
Fusa, & per Tyrias ducta trophæa vias?
(Laudis at antiquæ forsan meminiſse pigebit,
Quodque decus quondam causa ruboris erit.)
Tempus ego[9] certè memini, felicia Pænis
Quo te non puduit solvere vota deis;
Mæniaque intrantem vidi: longo agmine duxit
Turba salutantum, purpureique patres.
Fæminea ante omnes longe admiratur euntem
Hæret & aspectu tota caterva tuo.
Jam flexi, regale decus, per colla capilli,
Jam decet ardenti fuscus in ore color!

[8] See n. 10. [9] See n. 10.

Commendat frontis generosa modestia formam,
Seque cupit laudi surripuiſse suæ.
Prima genas tenui signat vix flore juventas,
Et dextræ soli credimus eſse virum.
Dum faciles gradiens oculos per singula jactas,
(Seu rexit casus lumina, sive Venus)
In me (vel certè visum est) conversa morari
Sensi; virgineus perculit ora pudor.
Nescio quid vultum molle spirare tuendo,
Credideramque tuos lentius ire pedes.
Quærebam, juxta æqualis si dignior eſset,
Quæ poterat visus detinuiſse tuos:
Nulla fuit circum æqualis quæ dignior eſset,
Aſseruitque decus conscia forma suum.
Pompæ finis erat. Totâ vix nocte quievi:
Sin premat invitæ lumina victa sopor,
Somnus habet pompas, eademque recursat imago;
Atque iterum hesterno munere victor ades.
* * * * [10]

152. ASHTON TO WEST.

My dearest West [1],

THE melancholy account of your Health, is an inexpreſsible concern to me, & I shall wait with

[10] It seems much to be regretted that the author did not finish this poem. But I believe he never proceeded further with it. *Mason.*—Mitford, who prints this poem in his *Works of Thomas Gray*, 1836, vol. i, pp. 200–4, draws attention to the numerous classical reminiscences throughout the piece. He also remarks upon Gray's metrical irregularities, such as *Māsīnissa* and *egō*.

Letter 152.—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends* (p. 169); now reprinted from Mitford's transcript (MS. Brit. Mus. *Add.* 32,562, fol. 160).

[1] West had been dead two days when this letter was written (see Letter 147, n. 13).

an impatient expectation of your Recovery & rejoice sincerely in every little acceſsion to your Strength. But keep up your Spirits whatever you do. You have Youth and the Season of the year on your side. I pray God to supply you with Strength, & bleſs you with a perfect Vigour of body & Mind. Mr Walpole sympathizes with you. . As soon as you can use your Hand let us hear from you. Nobody can wish you better than we do.

yours
very sincerely
THOS. ASHTON.

Downing Street[2]
June 3d.
1742

153. GRAY TO ASHTON.

MY DEAR ASHTON,

THIS melancholy day is the first that I have had any notice of my Loſs in poor West, and that only by so unexpected a Means as some Verses publishd in a Newspaper (they are fine & true & I believe may be your own[1].) I had indeed some reason to suspect it some days since from recieving a letter of

[2] See Letter 144, n. 4.

LETTER 153.—First printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp. 170–1; now reprinted from Mitford's transcript (MS. Brit. Mus. *Add.* 32,562, foll. 142 ff.).

[1] A copy of these lines by Ashton was enclosed by Walpole in a letter to Mann at the beginning of July (see Mrs. Toynbee's *Letters of Horace Walpole*, vol. i, p. 248). A slightly different version is printed by Tovey (*op. cit.*, pp. 171–2) from a transcript by Gray in the Pembroke MSS.

my own[2] to him sent back unopen'd. The stupid People had put it no Cover, nor thought it worth while to write one Line to inform me of the reason, tho' by knowing how to direct, they must imagine I was his friend. I am a fool indeed to be surprizd at meeting with Brutishneſs or want of Thought among Mankind; what I would desire is, that you would have the goodneſs to tell me, what you know of his death, more particularly as soon as you have any Leisure; my own Sorrow does not make me insensible to your new Happineſs[3], which I heartily congratulate you upon, as the means of Quiet, and Independence, & the Power of expreſsing your benevolence to those you love. neither my Misfortune, nor my joy shall detain you longer at a time, when doubtleſs you are a good deal employd; only beleive me sincerely yours

T. Gray.

P.S. Pray do not forget my impatience,—especially if you do not happen to be in London. I have no one to enquire of but yourself. 'tis now three weeks, that I have been in the Country, but shall return to Town in 2 days.

June 17 —— Stoke. 1742.

[2] It was with this letter no doubt that Gray sent to West his *Ode on the Spring* (see Letter 157, n. 4).

[3] This presumably refers to Ashton's nomination to the Crown living of Aldingham, in North Lancashire, as the result of Walpole's application to Henry Pelham (see Letter 144, n. 4). It appears from a letter of Pelham to Walpole, dated 16 July 1742, in the Waller Collection, that Ashton was expected to resign his Fellowship at King's on receiving the living in question.

154. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Dear Sr

YOU are so good to enquire after my usual Time of comeing to Town; it is at a Season, when even You, the perpetual Friend of London, will 'I fear hardly be in it, the Middle of June: and I commonly return hither in September, a Month, when I may more probably find you at home. 'I do not imagine that any Thing farther can be done with Mr Turner[2], but You only, who saw the Manner of his promiseing, can judge of that. what he calls the College, is the Master[3] & his Party of Fellows, among wch he himself has been reckon'd latterly: but, I know, it must be from some other Influence, than that of the Master merely, if he vote with them; wch if Mr Brudenel[4]

Letter 154.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 383–4.

1–1 This passage is omitted by Miss Berry.

2 Shallet Turner, of Peterhouse, Regius Professor of Modern History (see Letter 61, n. 15). What follows evidently refers to a Fellowship election at Peterhouse. The Probationer Fellow elected on this occasion was Pyers Libanus (B.A. 1744; M.A. 1748) (grandson of John Libanus of Peterhouse, an exile from Bohemia 'religionis causa'), who was confirmed as Foundation Fellow on April 14 of the following year.

3 John Whalley, Regius Professor of Divinity, Master of Peterhouse, 1733–48. His 'party of Fellows' was probably led by Edmund Keene, his successor in the Mastership, who on several grounds would be antagonistic to Gray.

4 George Bridges Brudenell, admitted Pensioner of Peterhouse in April 1743. He was the eldest son of James Brudenell, the grandson of Robert, second Earl of Cardigan, and was thus cousin of George, fourth Earl (afterwards Duke of Montagu). He was not

could stand, might very likely be made Use of (as he is nearly related to several People of Condition) but he is disqualified at present in every Sense. 'tis likely indeed he is intended for next Year, & M^r^ Turner has had some Application made already, by his knowing anything about him; but he mistakes the Time[1].

Our Defeat to be sure is a rueful Affair for the Honour of the Troops[5], but the Duke[6] is gone, it seems, with the Rapidity of a Cannon-Bullet to undefeat us again. the Common-People in Town at least know how to be afraid: but We are such *uncommon* People here as to have no more Sense of Danger, then if the Battle had been fought when & where the Battle of Cannæ was. the Perception of these Calamities and of their Consequences, that we are supposed to get from Books, is so faintly impreſs'd, that we talk of War, Famine, & Pestilence with no more Apprehension, than of a broken Head, or of a Coach overturn'd between York & Edinburgh. I heard three People, sensible middle-aged Men (when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, & actually were

qualified for a Fellowship at this time, but might have qualified for the election of April, 1747 ('next year') by graduating immediately after Christmas, 1746; but his father died in this year, and he did not graduate. He was subsequently for many years M.P. for Rutland. (Notes 2–4 from information kindly supplied by Dr. T. A. Walker, of Peterhouse.)

[5] General Hawley was defeated at Falkirk on Jan. 17 by the forces of the Young Pretender. 'The very same dragoons ran away at Falkirk, that ran away at Preston Pans' (Walpole to Mann, 28 Jan. 1746).

[6] The Duke of Cumberland, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief to replace General Hawley, and had 'gone post to Edinburgh, where he hoped to arrive to-night' (Walpole, *loc. cit.*).

at Derby [7]) talking of hireing a Chaise to go to Caxton [8], (a Place in the high Road) to see the Pretender & the Highlanders, as they paſsed.

I can say no more for Mr Pope, (for what You keep in Reserve may be worse than all the Rest) it is natural to wish the finest Writer, one of them, we ever had should be an honest Man. it is for the Interest even of that Virtue, whose Friend he profeſs'd himself, & whose Beauties he sung, that he should not be found a dirty Animal [9]. but however this is Mr Warburton's [10] Buſineſs, not mine, who may scribble his Pen to the Stumps & all in vain, if these Facts are so. it is not from what he told me about himself [11] that I thought well of him, but from a Humanity & Goodneſs of Heart, ay, & Greatneſs of Mind, that runs thro his private Correspondence, not leſs apparent than are a thousand little Vanities & Weakneſses mixed with those good Qualities, for no body ever took him for a Philosopher.

If you know anything of Mr Mann's [12] State of Health & Happineſs, or the Motions of Mr Chute [13] home-

7 On 4 Dec. 1745.

8 About half-way between Huntingdon and Royston on the road from Edinburgh to London.

9 This no doubt refers to Pope's lines (in *Moral Essays*, ii. 115 ff.) on 'Atossa' (the Duchess of Marlborough), which Bolingbroke published this year on a sheet with a note stating that the Duchess had paid Pope £1000 for their suppression—'he took the money, yet the world sees the verses'.

10 William Warburton (1698–1779), subsequently (1759) Bishop of Gloucester, Pope's literary executor.

11 Pope died 30 May 1744; there is nothing to fix the date of Gray's interview with him.

12 See Letter 112, n. 4.

13 See Letter 133, n. 7. Chute returned to England in the following September (see Walpole to Mann, 2 Oct. 1746).

wards, it will be a particular Favour to inform me of them, as I have not heard this half year from them.

I am sincerely Yours

T GRAY.

Cambr:dge Febr: 3—1746

155. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge, March 28, 1746][1]

DEAR Sr

I HAVE expected some time what You tell me. if T:[2] can be prevail'd upon to stay away it is all I desire: for he is mistaken in imagineing that will leave still an Equality among the Fellows. it is all an idle Tale the Master for his own Interest would propagate about the Party of his Antagonists. whatever some of the People who give us their Vote may have been I may confidently affirm no one so young as my Friend[3] can be more rationally[4] & zealously well-affected to the Government than he. the Hurry I write in[5] does not permit[6] to return you the

LETTER 155.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year is determined by the reference to the election at Peterhouse discussed in the previous letter.

[2] Presumably Shallet Turner (see Letter 154, n. 2).

[3] Who this was does not appear.

[4] From this point to the end of the letter the writing shows signs of haste.

[5] This word has been inserted above the line.

[6] *Sic.*

Thanks I ought for your stedfastneſs & resolution in obligeing me.

I am Yours sincerely
T: GRAY

Addressed: To,
The Hon^ble Horace Walpole Esq at
his House in Arlington-Street[7]
Westminster

Postmark: ROY / STON[8] 29 / MR

156. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Cambridge, July 7 [1746][1]

do you mean to continue so, or shall You see me the leſs Willingly next Week, when I mean to call at your Door some Morning? I hope you are still in Town. believe mè D^r S^r very sincerely Yours

T GRAY

[7] Sir Robert Walpole, after his resignation in 1742, 'left the house in Downing Street belonging to the Exchequer, and retired to one in Arlington Street, opposite to that in which I was born' (Walpole, *Short Notes*). Horace Walpole moved into the new house in October of that year, after spending several months at Houghton (see letter to Mann, 1 Nov. 1742).

[8] The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible.

LETTER 156. — Fragment of letter (presumably addressed to Walpole), printed from facsimile in Pinkerton's *Walpoliana* (vol. i, opp. p. 1). Tovey's suggestion (in *Gray and his Friends*, p. 7) that the 'note' written by Walpole, of which a facsimile is given by Pinkerton on the same page as that of Gray's letter, was addressed to Gray, and that its 'very reserved and formal' tone was due to resentment at a slight by Gray of some friendly overture on his part, is without foundation, as the supposed 'note' proves to be the concluding sentence of a letter addressed by Walpole to Pinkerton some forty years later, on 24 Aug. 1784. (See *Gray and Walpole: An Unfounded Inference*, in *The Times*, 23 March 1914.)

[1] The date of the year is con-

157. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

My Dear Sr

I FOUND (as soon as I got hither) a very kind Letter from Mr Chute, from whence I have Reason to hope we may all meet in Town about a Week hence. You have probably been there, since I left you, & consequently have seen the Mr Barry[1] you desired some Account of: yet as I am not certain of this, & should be glad to know whether we agree about him; I will nevertheleſs tell you what he is, & the Impreſsion he made upon me. he is upwards of six Foot in Height, well & proportionably made, treads well, & knows what to do with his Limbs; in short a noble graceful Figure: I can say nothing of his Face, but that it was all Black, with a wide Mouth & good Eyes. his Voice is of a clear & pleasing Tone, something like Delane's[2], but not so deep-mouth'd, not so like a Paſsing Bell. when high strained, it is apt to crack a little, & be hoarse: but in its common Pitch, & when it sinks into any softer Paſsion, particularly expreſsive & touching. in the first Scenes,

jectural, but the handwriting corresponds with that of Gray in dated letters of this period.

Letter 157.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Spranger Barry (1719–77), a Dublin silversmith, who had taken to the stage in Dublin two years before. He made his first appearance in London as Othello at Drury Lane on Oct. 4 of this year, and speedily became a formidable rival of Garrick. Gray's account of his voice and person is borne out by other contemporary observers.

[2] See Letter 23, n. 7.

especially where he recounts to the Senate the Progreſs of his Love, & the Means he used to win Desdemona, he was quite mistaken, & I took a Pique against him: instead of a Cool Narration he flew into a Rant of Voice & Action, as tho' he were relating the Circumstances of a Battle that was fought yesterday. I expected nothing more from him, but was deceived: in the Scenes of Rage & Jealousy he was seldom inferior to Quin[3]: in the Parts of Tenderneſs & Sorrow far above him. these latter seem to be his peculiarly: his Action is not very various, but rarely improper, or without Dignity: & some of his Attitudes are really fine. he is not perfect to be sure; but I think may make a better Player than any now on the Stage in a little while. however to see a Man in one Character, & but once, is not sufficient: so I rather ask your Opinion by this, than give you mine.

I annex (as you desired) another Ode[4]. all it pretends to with you is, that it is mine, & that you never saw it before, & that it is not so long as t'other.

[3] See Letter 3, n. 17.

[4] The *Ode on the Spring* ('the other' being no doubt that *On a Distant Prospect of Eton College*), originally called by Gray *Noontide, an Ode*. The poem was written in 1742, and was sent to West after his death (no doubt with the letter referred to in Gray's letter to Ashton of 17 June 1742—Letter 153), as appears from a note appended by Gray to his transcript in the Pembroke MSS.: 'at Stoke, the beginning of June 1742 sent to Fav: not knowing he was then Dead.' It was first printed (with the title *Ode*) in 1748 in Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by several Hands* (vol. ii, pp. 272–4), in which were also included the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* (vol. ii, pp. 268–71) (see Letter 164, n. 2) and the *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat* (vol. ii, pp. 274–6) (see Letter 160, n. 4). It is the first of the *Six Poems* with the designs of Bentley, published in 1753 (see Letter 179, n. 1).

Lo, where the rosie-bosom'd Hours,
Fair Venus' Train, appear,
Disclose the long-expecting Flowers,
And wake the purple Year!
The Attic Warbler pours her Throat
Responsive to the Cuckow's Note,
The untaught Harmony of Spring:
While whisp'ring Pleasure as they fly
Cool Zephyrs thro' the clear blue Sky
Their gather'd Fragrance fling

Where'er the Oak's thick Branches stretch
A broader browner Shade;
Where'er the rude & mosſs-grown Beech
O'ercanopies the Glade;
Beside some Water's rushy Brink
With me the Muse shall sit, & think
(At Ease reclined in rustic State)
How vain the Ardour of the Crowd,
How low, how indigent the Proud,
How little are the Great![6]

—a Bank
Oercanopied with luscious Woodbine
Shakesp: Mids: Night's Dream[5]

Still is the toiling Hand of Care:
The panting Herds repose.
Yet hark, how thro' the peopled Air
The busy Murmur glow!
The Insect-Youth are on the Wing
Eager to tast the honied Spring,

[5] Act ii, Sc. 1.

[6] These two lines were printed in this form in Dodsley's *Collection*; Gray afterwards altered them to
'How low, how little are the Proud
How indigent the Great!'
in which form they appear in the *Six Poems*. Mason states that Gray made the correction 'on account of the point of *little* and *great*'.

And float amid the liquid Noon : Nare per æstatem liquidam. Virg:[7]
Some lightly o'er the Current skim,
Some shew their gayly-gilded Trim
Quick-glanceing to the Sun.

To Contemplation's sober Eye
Such is the Race of Man :
And they that creep, & they that fly,
Shall end where they began.
Alike the Busy & the Gay
But flutter thro' Life's little Day,
In Fortune's varying Colours drest :
Brush'd by the Hand of rough Mischance,
Or chill'd by Age, their airy Dance
They leave, in Dust to rest.

Methinks I hear in Accents low
The sportive Kind reply,
Poor Moralist ! & what art Thou ?
A solitary Fly !
Thy Joys no glittering Female meets,
No Hive hast thou of hoarded Sweets,
No painted Plumage to display :
On hasty Wings thy Youth is flown;
Thy Sun is set; thy Spring is gone :
We frolick, while 'tis May.

My Compliments to Ashton. Adieu, I am sincerely
Yours
T G:

Camb: Oct: 20. [1746] [8]

[7] *Georg.* iv. 59.
[8] The date of the year has been inserted in the original by Mason.

158. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Cambridge, Dec. Monday [1746][1].

THIS comes du fond de ma cellule to salute Mr. H. W. not so much him that visits and votes, and goes to White's and to court; as the H. W. in his rural capacity, snug in his tub on Windsor-hill[2], and brooding over folios of his own creation[3]: him that can slip away, like a pregnant beauty (but a little oftener), into the country, be brought to bed perhaps of twins, and whisk to town again the week after with a face as if nothing had happened. Among the little folks, my godsons and daughters, I can not choose but enquire more particularly after the health of one; I mean (without a figure) the Memoires[4]: Do they grow? Do they unite, and hold up their heads, and

LETTER 158.— Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 389–90.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the references to Lord Lovat, to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, and to the opera *Mitridate* (see nn. 5, 7, 8). The date of the month was probably Monday, Dec. 22.

[2] In the previous August Walpole had taken the house of one Mr. Jordan, 'within the precincts of the Castle at Windsor' (*Short Notes*). (See letters to Montagu of 11 Aug., and to Mann of 21 Aug. 1746.) In a letter to Conway of Oct. 3 he refers to it as 'my little tub of forty pounds a year'.

[3] At the beginning of November Walpole had written 'an Epilogue to *Tamerlane* on the suppression of the Rebellion', which was spoken by Mrs. Pritchard in the character of the Comic Muse at Covent Garden Theatre on Nov. 4 and 5, and was printed by Dodsley the next day (*Short Notes*).

[4] In his *Short Notes* Walpole records, 'About this time I began to write my *Memoirs*', under the year 1751; but it is evident from this and a subsequent remark of Gray's (see Letter 159, n. 9) that he must have planned them some years before.

dreſs themselves? Do they begin to think of making their appearance in the world, that is to say, fifty years hence, to make posterity stare, and all good people croſs themselves? Has Asheton (who will then be lord bishop of Killaloe, and is to publish them) thought of an *aviso al lettore* to prefix to them yet, importing, that if the words church, king, religion, ministry, &c. be found often repeated in this book, they are not to be taken literally, but poetically, and as may be most strictly reconcileable to the faith then established;—that he knew the author well when he was a young man; and can testify upon the honour of his function, that he said his prayers regularly and devoutly, had a profound reverence for the clergy, and firmly believed everything that was the fashion in those days?

When you have done impeaching my lord Lovat[5], I hope to hear *de vos nouvelles*, and moreover; whether you have got colonel Conway[6] yet? Whether sir C. Williams[7] is to go to Berlin? What sort of a prince

[5] Simon Fraser (*c.* 1667–1747), eleventh Baron Lovat, who had been taken after the battle of Culloden, and imprisoned in the Tower. He was brought to the House of Lords on Dec. 18, to hear the articles of impeachment, and was then allowed till Jan. 13 to prepare for trial. He was found guilty of high-treason on March 18, sentence of death was passed on the following day, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill on April 9.

[6] He was in Scotland, where he had been acting as Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke had come South in July, and had left for the Hague on Nov. 30, but Conway had found an attraction in the person of Lady Ailesbury (the 'Scotchwoman' of Walpole's letter to Conway of Oct. 24), whom he married in the following year.

[7] Sir Charles Hanbury Williams (1708–59), at this time M.P. for Monmouthshire. Walpole writes to Mann on Dec. 5, 'Sir Charles Williams is talked of for going to Berlin, but it is not yet done'; and on Dec. 25, 'Sir Charles Williams has kissed hands, and sets out for Dresden in a month'. He was not appointed to Berlin till 1749.

Mitridate[8] may be?—and whatever other tidings you choose to refresh an anchoret with. *Frattanto* I send you a scene in a tragedy[9]: if it don't make you cry, it will make you laugh; and so it moves some paſsion, that I take to be enough. Adieu, dear sir! I am

Sincerely yours,

T. Gray.

159. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

January, 1747.

IT is doubtlefs an encouragement to continue writing to you, when you tell me you answer me with pleasure: I have another reason which would make me very copious, had I anything to say; it is, that I write to you with equal pleasure, though not with equal spirits, nor with like plenty of materials: please to subtract then so much for spirit, and so much for matter; and you will find me, I hope, neither so slow, nor so short, as I might otherwise seem. Besides, I had a mind to send you the remainder of Agrippina, that was lost in a wilderneſs of papers. Certainly you do her too much honour: she seemed to me to talk

[8] '1746. *Mitridate*, an opera entirely by the new composer Terradellas, was brought out, Dec. 2, and had a run of ten nights' (Burney, *Hist. of Music*, iv. 455). The Prince of Wales was a patron of the opera at this time. 'We have operas, but no company at them; the Prince and Lord Middlesex, *impresarii*' (Walpole to Mann, Dec. 5).

[9] The first scene in Mr. Gray's unfinished tragedy of *Agrippina*, published in Mr. Mason's edition of his works. *Berry*.—Gray had sent a speech from this scene to West in April, 1742 (see Letter 141, n. 8).

Letter 159.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 384–6.

like an *Oldboy*[1], all in figures and mere poetry, instead of nature and the language of real paſsion. Do you remember *Approchez-vous, Neron*[2]——Who would not rather have thought of that half line than all Mr. Rowe's[3] flowers of eloquence? However, you will find the remainder here at the end in an outrageous long speech: it was begun above four years ago (it is a misfortune you know my age, else I might have added), when I was very young. Poor West put a stop to that tragic torrent[4] he saw breaking in upon him:—have a care, I warn you, not to set open the flood-gate again, lest it should drown you and me and the bishop[5] and all.

I am very sorry to hear you treat philosophy and her followers like a parcel of monks and hermits, and think myself obliged to vindicate a profeſsion I honour, bien que je n'en tienne pas boutique (as mad. Sevigné says)[6]. The first man that ever bore the name, if you remember, used to say, that life was like the Olympic games[7] (the greatest public aſsembly of his age and

[1] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'old boy'. Colonel Oldboy is a character in the comic opera *Lionel and Clarissa*, which was being performed at Covent Garden about this time.

[2] 'Approchez-vous, Néron, et prenez votre place'—words spoken by Agrippina to her son at the commencement of the second scene of the fourth act of Racine's *Britannicus*.

[3] Nicholas Rowe (1674–1718), poet laureate and dramatist, whose best-known tragedy, *The Fair Penitent* (see Letter 108, n. 7), was first produced in 1703.

[4] See Letter 141, n. 8.

[5] No doubt, Ashton, the prospective 'Lord Bishop of Killaloe' (see Letter 158).

[6] 'Il se trouvera à la fin que moi, qui ne lève point boutique de philosophie, je l'exercerai plus qu'eux tous' (*à Mad. de Grignan*, 21 Sept. 1689).

[7] The reference is to the saying of Pythagoras, as quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Quæst.* v. 3): 'similem sibi videri vitam hominum, et mercatum

country), where some came to show their strength and agility of body, as the champions; others, as the musicians, orators, poets, and historians, to show their excellence in those arts; the traders, to get money; and the better sort, to enjoy the spectacle, and judge of all these. They did not then run away from society for fear of its temptations: they paſsed their days in the midst of it: conversation was their buſineſs: they cultivated the arts of persuasion, on purpose to show men it was their interest, as well as their duty, not to be foolish, and false, and unjust; and that too in many instances with succeſs: which is not very strange; for they showed by their life that their leſsons were not impracticable; and that pleasures were no temptations, but to such as wanted a clear perception of the pains annexed to them. But I have done preaching à la Grecque. Mr. Ratcliffe[8] made a shift to behave very

eum, qui haberetur maximo ludorum apparatu totius Græciæ celebritate, nam ut illic alii corporibus exercitatis gloriam et nobilitatem coronæ peterent: alii emendi, aut vendendi quæstu et lucro ducerentur: esset autem quoddam genus eorum, idque vel maxime ingenuum, qui nec plausum, nec lucrum quærerent, sed visendi causa venirent, studioseque perspicerent, quid ageretur, et quo modo'. The saying is also recorded by Diogenes Laertius in his life of Pythagoras.

[8] Charles Radcliffe (1693–1746), brother of the third Earl of Derwentwater (beheaded in 1716), who but for the attainder would have been fifth Earl of Derwentwater. He had been sentenced to death after the rebellion of 1715, but escaped from Newgate. In Nov. 1745 he was captured on board the *Soleil* privateer, and sent to the Tower; he was tried and condemned to death (21 Nov. 1746) under his former sentence, and beheaded on Tower Hill (Dec. 8). 'Mr. Ratcliffe, preceded by the sheriffs, the divine, and some friends, ascended the scaffold, after having taken leave of them with great serenity and calmness of mind. . . He behaved with the greatest fortitude and coolness of temper, and was by no means terrified at the approach of death' (*Univ. Chron.*).

rationally without their instructions, at a season which they took a great deal of pains to fortify themselves and others against: one would not desire to lose one's head with a better grace. I am particularly satisfied with the humanity of that last embrace to all the people about him. Sure it must be somewhat embarrasing to die before so much good company!

You need not fear but posterity will be ever glad to know the absurdity of their ancestors: the foolish will be glad to know they were as foolish as they, and the wise will be glad to find themselves wiser. You will please all the world then; and if you recount miracles you will be believed so much the sooner[9]. We are pleased when we wonder; and we believe because we are pleased. Folly and wisdom, and wonder and pleasure, join with me in desiring you would continue to entertain them: refuse us if you can. Adieu, dear sir!

T. GRAY.

160. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Cambridge, March 1, 1747.

AS one ought to be particularly careful to avoid blunders in a compliment of condolence, it would be a sensible satisfaction to me (before I testify my sorrow, and the sincere part I take in your misfortune) to know for certain, who it is I lament. I knew Zara

[9] An allusion to Walpole's *Memoirs* (see Letter 158, n. 4).

LETTER 160.—Reprinted from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 188–9. Cole, in a MS. note printed by Mitford (*Works of Gray*, vol. i, p. cvii), says that this letter as printed by Mason consists of 'two letters clumsily joined together', the join being after 'Tempus inane peto &c.'

and Selima, (Selima, was it? or Fatima) or rather I knew them both together; for I cannot justly say which was which. Then as to your handsome Cat, the name you distinguish her by, I am no leſs at a loſs, as well knowing one's handsome cat is always the cat one likes best; or, if one be alive and the other dead, it is usually the latter that is the handsomest. Besides, if the point were never so clear, I hope you do not think me so ill-bred or so imprudent as to forfeit all my interest in the surviver: Oh. no! I would rather seem to mistake, and imagine to be sure it must be the tabby one that had met with this sad accident. Till this affair is a little better determined, you will excuse me if I do not begin to cry:

'Tempus inane peto, requiem, spatiumque doloris[1].'

Which interval is the more convenient, as it gives time to rejoice with you on your new honors[2]. This is only a beginning; I reckon next week we shall hear you are a Free-Mason, or a Gormogon[3] at least—Heigh ho! I feel (as you to be sure have done long since) that I have very little to say, at least in prose. Somebody

[1] *Aen.* iv. 433–4: 'Tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori, Dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.'

[2] Mr. Walpole was about this time elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. *Mason.*—His name appears in the Annual List of Fellows for the first time this year.

[3] Pseudo-Chinese—a member of a society imitating the Free-masons, founded early in Cent. xviii. (*N.E.D.*) Gray evidently had in mind *Dunciad* iv. 570 ff., where Pope speaks of those who

'Shine in the dignity of F.R.S.
Some, deep Free-Masons . . .
Some Botanists, or Florists at the least,
Or issue Members of an Annual feast.
Nor past the meanest unregarded, one
Rose a Gregorian, one a Gormogon.'

will be the better for it; I do not mean you, but your Cat, feuë Mademoiselle Selime, whom I am about to immortalise for one week or fortnight, as follows[4].

'Twas on a lofty vase's side
Where China's gayest art had dy'd
The azure flowers that blow;
The pensive Selima reclin'd,
Demurest of the tabby kind[5],
Gaz'd on the lake below.

Her conscious tail her joy declar'd;
The fair round face, the snowy beard,
The velvet of her paws,
Her coat, that with the tortoise vies,
Her ears of jet, and emerald eyes,
She saw; and purr'd applause.

Still had she gaz'd; but 'midst the tide
Two beauteous forms[6] were seen to glide,
The Genii of the stream:
Their scaly armour's Tyrian hue
Through richest purple to the view
Betray'd a golden gleam.

The hapleſs Nymph with wonder saw:
A whisker first, and then a claw,
With many an ardent wish,

[4] The *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat Drowned in a Tub of Gold Fishes*; first printed in Dodsley's *Collection* in 1748 (see Letter 157, n. 4). It was the second of the *Six Poems* with the designs of Bentley, published in 1753 (see Letter 179, n. 1). Mason does not print the ode with the letter, as the plan of his work necessitated his reserving it for the section containing Gray's poems.

[5] Later:
'Demurest of the tabby kind,
The pensive Selima, reclin'd.'

[6] Later: 'Two angel forms'.

She stretch'd, in vain, to reach the prize.
What female heart can gold despise?
What Cat 's a foe to fish[7]?

Presumptuous Maid! with looks intent
Again she stretch'd, again she bent,
Nor knew the gulf between.
(Malignant Fate sat by, and smil'd)
The slipp'ry verge her feet beguil'd,
She tumbled headlong in.

Eight times emerging from the flood
She mew'd to ev'ry wat'ry God,
Some speedy aid to send.
No Dolphin came, no Nereid stirr'd:
Nor cruel Tom, nor Harry[8] heard.
What favourite has a friend?[9]

From hence, ye Beauties, undeceiv'd,
Know, one false step is ne'er retriev'd,
And be with caution bold.
Not all that tempts your wand'ring eyes
And heedleſs hearts is lawful prize,
Nor all, that glisters, gold.

There's a Poem for you, it is rather too long for an Epitaph[10].

[7] Later: 'averse to fish'.

[8] Later: 'Susan'.

[9] Later: 'A Fav'rite has no friend.'

[10] Mr. Walpole, since the death of Mr. Gray, has placed the China vase in question on a pedestal at Strawberry-Hill, with the four [*corr.* six] lines of the Ode for its inscription: ''Twas on *this* Vase's lofty [*corr.* lofty vase's] side', &c. *Mason.*—'The large blue and white china tub in which Mr. Walpole's cat was drowned' stood on a pedestal in the cloister near the entrance. (See *Description of Strawberry Hill*, in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, p. 400.)

161. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I AM not dead, neither sleep I so sound, as not to feel the Jog you give me, or to forget that I ought to have wrote before. but I have been on the Confines of that Land, where all Things are forgotten; & return'd from thence with a Loſs of Appetite & of Spirits, that has made me a very silly Gentleman, & not worth your Correspondence. however I am tolerable well again, & came post hither on Friday to see my Mother [ ][1] she was then at the Extremity, but is far better at present: I have no Buſineſs to regale you with all [t]his[2], but it is only by Way of Excuse. on Monday next I hope to return home, & in my Way (probably on Tuesday Morning) to call at your Door, & that of the Chuteheds[3], if poſsible.

I am obliged to you for transcribeing Voltaire[4] &

LETTER 161.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Piece cut out.

[2] MS. torn.

[3] Familiar name used by Gray and Walpole for John Chute (see Letter 133, n. 7) and his friend Francis Whithed, whose acquaintance they had made during their travels abroad. After his quarrel with Walpole at Reggio in May 1741, Gray went to Venice with Chute and Whithed, and spent some weeks with them there before returning to England. Francis Whithed (1719–51), of Southwick Park, Hampshire, originally Thistlethwaite, had taken the name of Whithed on succeeding to the estate of an uncle. He returned to England with Chute in September 1746, and entered Parliament in the following July as member for Southampton county. He died in March 1751, of a chill caught out hunting, to the great grief of John Chute, who regarded him almost as a son.

[4] Possibly his *Ode sur la Félicité* (1746); or his *Stances à S. A. R. la Princesse de Suède* (1747).

Horace Walpole.

from a painting by J. G. Eckhardt.

Mr Lyttleton[5]. the last has six good prettyish Lines. the other I do not much admire

Ni sa Flute, ni son Epée.

the Thought is Martial's, & many others after him; & the Verses frippery enough, as his easy Poetry usually is. nobody loves him better than I in his grander Style.

Adieu, Dear Sr, I am ever

Yours

T Gray

Stoke. [May 3, 1747][6]

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole Esq at
his House in Arlington-Street
Westminster

Postmark: WIND SOR[7] 3 MA

162. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I HAD been absent from this Place a few Days, & at my Return found Cibber's Book[1] upon my Table: I return you my Thanks for it, & have already

[5] George Lyttelton (1709–73), son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, fourth Baronet, of Hagley Park, Worcestershire; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1755–6; created (1756) Baron Lyttelton. He had just published a *Monody* to the memory of his wife, who died on Jan. 19 of this year. (See also Letter 168, n. 17.) It was absurdly stated in Shenstone's *Letters* that Gray's ode on the death of Walpole's cat was written in ridicule of Lyttelton's *Monody* (see Walpole to Cole, 14 June 1769).

[6] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year is determined by the reference to Lyttelton's *Monody* (see n. 5).

[7] The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible.

LETTER 162.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part by Mason in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 182–5 (see Letter 28 n.).

[1] Colley Cibber (see Letter 23, n. 10); the book was *The Character and Conduct of Cicero considered*

run over a considerable Part, for who could resist M^rs^ Lætitia Pilkington's[2] Recommendation? (by the Way is there any such Gentlewoman, or has somebody put on the Style of a scribbleing Woman's Panegyric to deceive & laugh at Colley?) he seems to me full as pert & as dull as usual. there are whole Pages of Common-Place Stuff, that for Stupidity might have been wrote by D^r^ Waterland[3] or any other grave Divine, did not the flirting saucy Phrase give them at a Distance an Air of Youth & Gayety. it is very true, he is often in the right with regard to Tully's Weaknesses; but was there any one that did not see them? those, I imagine, that would find a Man after God's own Heart, are no more likely to trust the Doctor's Recommendation, than the Player's. & as to Reason & Truth: would they know their own Faces, do you think? if they look'd in the Glass, & saw themselves so bedizen'd in tatter'd Fringe & tarnish'd Lace, in French Jewels, & dirty Furbelows, the frippery of a Stroller's Wardrobe?

Litterature (to take it in its most comprehensive Sense, & include every Thing, that requires Invention,

from the History of his Life, by the Rev. Dr. Middleton, published in this year.

[2] An Irish adventuress (d. 1750), in whom Cibber interested himself. In her *Memoirs*, published in 1748, she writes: 'Mr. Cibber was writing the Character and Conduct of Cicero consider'd: and did me the Honour to read it to me: . . . This gave me an opportunity of writing a poem to him' (vol. iii, p. 82—quoted by Tovey). Her recommendatory verses were on a loose sheet, inserted at the beginning of Cibber's book (see Letter 163 *ad fin.*).

[3] Daniel Waterland (1683–1740), Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge (1713), who had been engaged in a controversy with Conyers Middleton over Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation* (1730), which he attacked in *Scripture Vindicated* (1730–2).

or Judgement, or barely Application & Industry) seems indeed drawing apace to its Diſsolution; & remarkably since the Beginning of the War. [4]I should be glad to know why, if any one will tell me. for I believe there may be natural Reasons discoverable enough without haveing Recourse to S[t] John, or S[t] Alexander's[5] Revelations[4]. I remember to have read M[r] Spence's pretty Book[6], tho' (as he then had not been at Rome for the last Time) it must have increased greatly since that in Bulk. if you ask me what I read; I protest I don't remember[7] one Syllable; but only in general, that they were the best-bred Sort of Men in the World, just the Kind of *Frinds* one would wish to meet in a fine Summer's Evening, if one wish'd to meet any at all. the Heads & Tails of the Dialogues, publish'd separate in 16[mo], would make the sweetest Reading in Natiur[8] for young Gentlemen of Family & Fortune, that are learning to dance: [9]I am told, he has put his little Picture before it[9]. I rejoyce to hear, there is such a Crowd of dramatical Performances comeing upon the Stage. Agripp:[na 10] can stay very

[4–4] This passage is omitted by Mason.

[5] Presumably the Archbishop of Alexandria (d. 326), famous for his controversy with Arius concerning the divinity of Christ.

[6] Joseph Spence (see Letter 104, n. 11); he had just published his *Polymetis: or an Enquiry concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Antient Artists*, his collections for which had been commenced in 1732 under the title of *Noctes Florentinæ*. Gray, as appears from the following letter, had seen a portion of the work in MS., no doubt in Florence.

[7] Mason: 'recollect'.

[8] Mason: *natiur*; but the word was not underlined by Gray.

[9–9] This passage is omitted by Mason. Spence's portrait, engraved by G. Vertue from a painting by Isaac Whood, is prefixed to the first edition (1747) of *Polymetis*.

[10] See Letter 158, n. 9.

well, she thanks you; & be damn'd at Leisure: I hope in God you have not mention'd, or shew'd to any Body that Scene (for trusting in it's Badneſs, I forgot to caution you concerning it) but I heard the other Day, that I was writeing a Play, & was told the Name of it, w^ch^ no body here could know, I'm sure. the Employment you propose to me, much better suits my Inclination. but I much fear our Joynt-Stock would hardly compose a small Volume [11]: what I have, is leſs considerable than you would imagine; & of that little we should not be willing to publish all. [12] there is an Epistle, ad Amicos [13] (that is, to us all at Cambridge) in English, of above fourscore Lines: the Thoughts are taken from Tibullus, & from a Letter of M^r^ Pope's in Prose. it begins

While You, where Camus rolls his sedgy Tide &c:

2. An Imitation of Horace, Trojani belli scriptorem &c: [14] about 120 Lines, wrote to me. begins

While haply You (or haply not at all)
Hear the grave Pleadings in the Lawyer's Hall &c:

3. A Translation from Propertius [15]. L: 3. El. 15 . . . 50 Lines. begins . . (sent to me at Rheims)

Now prostrate, Bacchus, at thy Shrine I bend &c:

4. An Elegy, Latin. 34 Lines [16]. begins, Quod mihi tam gratæ &c:

[11] The task which Mr. Walpole had recommended to him, was that of printing his own and Mr. West's Poems in the same volume. *Mason.*

[12–12] This passage is omitted by Mason.

[13] See Letter 58.

[14] 1 *Epist.* ii—printed by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, pp. 119–23.

[15] See Letter 94.

[16] See Letter 85.

5. Another, sent to Florence. 36 Lines[17].—Ergo desidiæ videor &c:

. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Translation from Posidippus, an Epigram[18] . . Some Lines; on the hard Winter[19]: long Verse . . on himself, a little before his Death[20]. long Verse. 2 Imitations of Catullus' Basia. English[21]. a little Ode of 5 Stanza's[22], to the Spring[12].

This is all I can any where find. You, I imagine, may have a good deal more[23]. I should not care, how unwise the ordinary Sort of Readers might think my Affection for him provided those few, that ever loved any Body, or judged of any thing rightly, might from such little Remains be moved to consider, what he would have been; & to wish, that Heaven had granted him a longer Life, & a Mind more at Ease. [24]I can't help fancying, that if you could find out M^rs^ West, & ask her for his Papers of that kind (Ashton might do it in your Name) she would be ready enough to part with them, & we might find something more; at least it would be worth while to try; for she had 'em in a great Box altogether, I well know[24].

I send you a few Lines, tho' Latin (w^ch^ you don't like) for the sake of the Subject. it makes Part of a large Design[25], & is the Beginning of the fourth

[17] See Letter 115.

[18] See Letter 69.

[19] Printed by Tovey, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[20] See Letter 142.

[21] Printed by Tovey, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–8.

[22] See Letter 148.

[23] A complete list of West's poems and translations, so far as they have been preserved, is given in *Appendix* C.

[24–24] This passage is omitted by Mason.—For other pieces by West, not included in Gray's list, see *Appendix* B.

[25] The *De Principiis Cogitandi*, of which he had sent the commencement to West in 1741 (see Letter 134, n. 7).

Book, w^ch^ was intended to treat of the Paſsions. excuse the 3 first Verses: you know Vanity (with the Romans) is a poetical License.

[26] Hactenus haud segnis Naturæ arcana retexi
Musarum interpres, primusq, Britanna per arva
Romano liquidum deduxi flumine riyum.
Cum Tu opere in medio, spes tanti & cauſa laboris,
Linquis, & æternam fati te condis in umbram!
Vidi egomet duro graviter concuſsa dolore
Pectora, in alterius non unquám lenta dolorem;
Et languere oculos vidi & pallescere amantem
Vultum, quo nunquam Pietas nisi rara, Fidesq,,
Altus amor Veri, & purum spirabat Honestum.
Visa tamen tardi demúm inclementia morbi
Ceſsare est, reducemq, iterúm roseo ore Salutem
Speravi, atq, uná tecum, dilecte Favonî,
Credulus heu longos, ut quondam, fallere Soles.
Heu spes nequicquam dulces, atq, irrita vota,
Heu mæstos Soles, sine te quos ducere flendo,
Per desideria, & questus jam cogor inanes!
At tu, sancta anima, & nostri non indiga luctûs
Stellanti templo, sinceriq, ætheris igne
Unde orta es, fruere. atq, oh si securà, nec ultrá
Mortalis, notos olím miserata labores
Respectes, tenuesq, vacet cognoscere curas:
Humanam si forté altâ de sede procellam
Contemplere, metus, stimulosq, cupidinis acres,
Gaudiaq, & gemitus, parvoq, in corde tumultum
Irarum ingentem, & sævos sub pectore fluctus:

[26] From here to the end of the letter is omitted by Mason.

Respice & has lachrymas, memori quas ictus amore
Fundo; quod poſsum, proptér [27] lugere sepulchrum
Dum juvat, & mutæ vana hæc jactare favillæ.

P: S: My Love to the Chutheds [28]. pray tell 'em I am learning Whisk [29], & have sent one of my old Gowns to be made up into full-bottom'd Hoods . . . Compliments to M^rs^ Tr—cy [30] . . . Adieu, S^r^, I am

Yours ever

T G:

Cambr: Sunday — [1747] [31]

163. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge, 1747] [1]

I HAVE abundance of Thanks to return You for the Entertainment M^r^ Spence's Book [2] has given me, w^ch^ I have almost run over already; & I much

[27] Mason (who prints the whole poem in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 160–9): 'juxtà'.

[28] See Letter 161, n. 3.

[29] Whist had become the rage a few years before. Walpole, writing to Mann on 9 Dec. 1742 (the year in which Hoyle's *Short Treatise on Whist* was first printed), says: 'Whisk has spread an universal opium over the whole nation; it makes courtiers and Patriots sit down to the same pack of cards.' A seventh edition of Hoyle's book was published this year (1747).

[30] Perhaps a member of the Tracy family, who were related to John Chute (see Letter 200, n. 3).

[31] The date of the year (which has been inserted in the original by Mason) is determined by the references to Cibber's book and to Spence's *Polymetis* (see nn. 1, 6).

LETTER 163.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 185–7 (see Letter 28 n.).

[1] So dated by Mason, whose date is confirmed by the references to Spence's *Polymetis*, and to Middleton's book on the Roman Senate (see nn. 2, 10).

[2] His *Polymetis* (see Letter 162, n. 6).

fear (see what it is to make a Figure) the Breadth of the Margin, & the Neatneſs of the Prints, w^ch^ are better done than one could expect, have prevail'd upon me to like it far better, than I did in Manuscript. for I think, it is not the very genteel Deportment of Polymetis, nor the lively Wit of Mysagetes, that have at all corrupted me.

There is one fundamental Fault, from whence most of the little Faults throughout the whole arise. he profeſses to neglect the Greek Writers, who could have given him more Instruction on the very Heads he profeſses to treat, than all the others put together. who does not know, that upon the Latine, the Sabine, & Hetruscan Mythology (w^ch^ probably might themselves at a remoter Period of Time owe their Origin to Greece too) the Romans ingrafted almost the whole Religion of Greece to make what is call'd their own? it would be hard to find any one Circumstance, that is properly of their Invention. in the ruder Days of the Republick the picturesque Part of their Religion (w^ch^ is the Province he has chose, & would be thought to confine himself too) was probably borrowed entirely from the Tuscans, who, as a wealthy & tradeing People, may be well supposed, & indeed are known, to have had the Arts flourishing in a considerable Degree among them. what could inform him here, but Dionysius Halic:[3] (who expreſsly treats of those Times with great Curiosity & Industry) & the Remains of

[3] Mason: 'Dio. Halicarnassus'. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (d. 7 B.C.), author of 'Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, a history of Rome, in twenty-two books, from the mythical times down to 264 B.C.

the first Roman Writers? the former he has neglected as a Greek; & the latter he says were but little acquainted with the Arts, & consequently are but of little[4] Authority. in the better Ages, when every Temple & publick Building in Rome was peopled with imported Deities & Hero's, & when all the Artists of Reputation they made Use of were Greeks, what Wonder, if their Eyes grew familiarised to Grecian Forms & Habits (especially in a Matter of this kind, where so much depends upon the Imagination) & if those Figures introduced with them a Belief of such Fables, as first gave them Being, & dreſs'd them out in their various Attributes. it was natural then; & (I should think) neceſsary, to go to the Source itself, the Greek Accounts of their own Religion. but, to say the Truth, I suspect he was little conversant in those Books & that Language, for he rarely quotes any but Lucian, an Author that falls in every Bodie's Way, & who lived at the very extremity of that Period he has set to his Enquiries, later than any of the Poets he has meddled with, & for that Reason ought to have been regarded, as but an indifferent Authority, especially being a Syrian too. as he says himself; his Book, I think, is[5] rather a Beginning than a perfect Work; but a Beginning at the wrong End: for if any body should finish it by enquireing into the Greek Mythology, as he proposes; it will be neceſsary to read it backward.

There are several little Neglects, that any one might

[4] Mason: 'small'.

[5] Mason: 'His book (as he says himself) is, I think'.

have told him of, I minded[6] in reading it hastily, as P: 311, a Discourse about Orange-Tree's occasion'd by Virgil's, inter odoratum lauri nemus[7]. where he fancies the Roman Laurus to be our Laurel: tho' undoubtedly the Bay-tree, w^ch^ is *odoratum*, & (I believe) still call'd Lauro, or Alloro, at Rome. & that the Pomum[8] Medicum in the Georgick is the Orange: tho' Theophrastus, whence Virgil borrow'd it, or even Pliny whom he himself quotes, might convince him, it is the Cedrato, w^ch^ he has often tasted at Florence. P: 144. is an Account of Domenichin's[9] Cardinal Virtues, & a Fling at the Jesuits; neither of w^ch^ belong to them. the Painting is in a Church of the Barnabiti, dedicated to S^t^ Carlo Borroméo, whose Motto is Humilitas. P: 151. in a Note he says, the old Romans did not *regard Fortune as a Deity*. tho' Serv: Tullius (whom she was said to be in Love with; nay, there was actually an Affair between them) founded her Temple in Foro Boario. by the Way her Worship was Greek; & this King was educated in the Family of Tarquin: Priscus, whose Father was a Corinthian. so it is easy to conceive, how early the Religion of Rome might be mixed with that of Greece . . &c: &c:

D^r^ Midd:^n^ has sent me to day a Book on the Roman Senate[10], the Substance of a Dispute between L^d^ Hervey[11]

[6] Mason: 'which I noted'.

[7] *Aen.* vi. 658.

[8] Mason: 'Malum'. The reference is to the 'malum felix' of *Georg.* ii. 127. Neither the laurel nor the orange was naturalized in Europe in Virgil's time.

[9] Mason: 'Domenichino'. Zampieri Domenichino (1581–1641), of Bologna, a pupil of Annibale Caracci.

[10] Conyers Middleton's *Treatise on the Roman Senate*, published this year.

[11] John, first Baron Hervey (see Letter 101, n. 6).

& Him, tho' it never *interrupted their Friendship*[12], he says, & I dare say not . . .[13] M^rs^ Læt: Pilkington is a Name under certain recommendatory Verses in the Front of Cibber's Book[14], that seem designed to laugh at him. they were in a loose Sheet, not sow'd in. how does your Comedy[15] succeed? I am told, very well. Adieu! I am

Yours ever
T G:

My Respects to the Chutheds. I am much their's, tho' to no Purpose.

164. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge, 1747][1].

WHEN I received the testimonial of so many considerable personages to adorn the second page of my next edition, and (adding them to the Testimonium Autoris de seipso) do relish and enjoy all the conscious pleasure resulting from six pennyworths of glory[2],

[12] Mason: 'never interrupted *their* friendship'.

[13] The remainder of the letter is omitted by Mason.

[14] See Letter 162, nn. 1, 2.

[15] What this was does not appear.

LETTER 164.—Reprinted from Mitford's *Correspondence of Thomas Gray and the Rev. Norton Nicholls, with other Pieces hitherto unpublished* (1843), pp. 217–21. Mitford, who first printed this letter and the extract from the Poem on the Letters of the Alphabet, states in his preface (p. viii) that it was 'transcribed from Gray's own manuscript'.

[1] The date, as Tovey points out, is determined by the reference to Gray's *Eton Ode* (see n. 2).

[2] His *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* was published, at Walpole's suggestion, by Dodsley (in folio, price sixpence) in the summer of 1747.

I cannot but close my satisfaction with a sigh for the fate of my fellow-labourer in poetry, the unfortunate Mr. Golding[3], cut off in the flower or rather the bud of his honours, who had he survived but a fortnight more, might have been by your kind offices as much delighted with himself, as I. Windsor[4] and Eton[5] might have gone down to posterity together, perhaps appeared in the same volume, like Philips[6] and Smith[7], and we might have set[8] at once to Mr. Pond[9] for the frontispiece, but these, alas! are vain reflections. To return to myself. Nay! but you are such a wit! sure the gentlemen an't so good, are they? and don't you play upon the word. I promise you, few take to it here at all, which is a good sign (for I never knew anything liked here, that ever proved to be so any where else,) it is said to be mine, but I strenuously deny it, and so do all that are in the secret, so that nobody knows what to think; a few only of King's College gave me the lie, but I hope to demolish them; for if *I* don't know, who should? Tell Mr. Chute, I would not have served him so, for any brother in Christendom, and am very angry. To make my peace with the noble youth

3 This individual has not been identified; he evidently had written a poem on Windsor, which Gray suggests might have been published as a companion to his own Eton ode.

4 See n. 3.

5 See n. 2.

6 John Philips (1676–1709), author of the *Splendid Shilling*.

7 Edmund Smith (1672–1710), author of a tragedy, *Phædra and Hippolytus*, which was printed in 1710, together with *A Poem to the Memory of Mr. John Philips* (reprinted in 1719, and many times since).

8 Gosse, Tovey: 'sent'.

9 Arthur Pond (*c.* 1705–58), painter and engraver, especially noted for his portraits, among which the best known are those of Pope, the Duke of Cumberland, and Peg Woffington.

you mention, I send you a Poem that I am sure they will read (as well as they can) a masterpiece—it is said, being an admirable improvement on that beautiful piece called Pugna Porcorum[10], which begins

Plangite[11] porcelli Porcorum pigra propago;

but that is in Latin, and not for their reading, but indeed, this is worth a thousand of it, and unfortunately it is not perfect, and it is not mine[12].

THE CHARACTERS OF THE CHRIST-CROSS ROW,
BY A CRITIC, TO Mrs ——.

* * *

Great D draws near—the Dutchefs sure is come,
Open the doors of the withdrawing-room;
Her daughters deck'd most daintily I see,
The Dowager grows a perfect double D.
E enters next, and with her Eve appears.
Not like yon Dowager deprest with years;

[10] *Pugna Porcorum per P. Porcium poetam Paracelses pro Potore*, Parisiis, 1589; the work (a 12mo of 8 pp.) consists entirely of words beginning with 'p'.

[11] 'Plaudite', not 'Plangite', is actually the first word of the poem.

[12] In a letter to Walpole of 20 March 1773, Mason speaks of William Trollope, a Fellow of Pembroke, as 'the author of the poem on the Alphabet, from which and from Gray's, a more perfect copy might be taken of that whimsical yet clever production'. Walpole replies on May 27, 'I return you Mr Trollop's verses, of which many are excellent, and yet I cannot help thinking the best were Gray's, not only as they appear in his writing, but as they are more nervous and less diffuse than the others'. Mitford (*op. cit.*, p. 218) quotes the following note, written and signed by Walpole on his copy of the verses: 'Gray would never allow the foregoing Poem to be his, but it has too much merit, and the humour and versification are so much in his style, that I cannot believe it to be written by any other hand.'

What Ease and Elegance her person grace,
Bright beaming, as the Evening-star, her face;
Queen Esther next—how fair e'en after death,
Then one faint glimpse of Queen Elizabeth;
No more, our Esthers now are nought but Hetties,
Elizabeths all dwindled into Betties;
In vain you think to find them under E,
They're all diverted into H and B.
F follows fast the fair—and in his rear,
See Folly, Fashion, Foppery, straight appear,
All with fantastic clews, fantastic clothes,
With Fans and Flounces, Fringe and Furbelows.
Here Grub-street Geese presume to joke and jeer,
All, all, but Grannam Osborne's Gazetteer[13].
High heaves his hugeneſs H, methinks we see,
Henry the Eighth's most monstrous majesty,
But why on such *mock* grandeur should we dwell,
H mounts to Heaven, and H descends to Hell.

* * *

As H the Hebrew found, so I the Jew,
See Isaac, Joseph, Jacob, paſs in view;
The walls of old Jerusalem appear,
See Israel, and all Judah thronging there.

* * *

P pokes his head out, yet has not a pain;
Like Punch, he peeps, but soon pops in again;

[13] The *Daily Gazetteer* in which Francis Osborne defended Sir Robert Walpole's administration against the attacks of the *Craftsman* (see Letter 50, n. 1). Osborne was frequently referred to by his opponents as 'Mother Osborne'.

Pleased with his Pranks, the Pisgys call him Puck,
Mortals he loves to prick, and pinch, and pluck;
Now a pert Prig, he perks upon your face,
Now peers, pores, ponders, with profound grimace,
Now a proud Prince, in pompous Purple drest,
And now a Player, a Peer, a Pimp, or Priest;
A Pea, a Pin, in a perpetual round,
Now seems a Penny, and now shews a Pound;
Like Perch or Pike, in Pond you see him come,
He in plantations hangs like Pear or Plum,
Pippin or Peach; then perches on the spray,
In form of Parrot, Pye, or Popinjay.
P, Proteus-like all tricks, all shapes can shew,
The Pleasantest Person in the Christ-Crofs row.

* * *

As K a King, Q represents a Queen,
And seems small difference the sounds between;
K, as a man, with hoarser accent speaks,
In shriller notes Q like a female squeaks;
Behold K struts, as might a King become,
Q draws her train along the Drawing-room,
Slow follow all the quality of State,
Queer Queensbury[14] only does refuse to wait.

* * *

[14] Lady Catherine Hyde (d. 1777), second daughter of fourth Earl of Clarendon; married (1720) Charles Douglas, third Duke of Queensberry. She was noted for her beauty (which she retained till her death), and for her eccentricities, which bordered upon insanity. She was the 'Kitty' of Prior's poem *The Female Phaethon*. Gay, whom she took under her protection, for many years lived under her roof. It was for soliciting subscriptions at St. James's for the second part of the *Beggar's Opera*, after the performance had been forbidden by the Duke of Grafton as Lord Chamberlain, that

Thus great R reigns in town, while different far,
Rests in retirement, *little* Rural R;
Remote from cities lives in lone Retreat,
With Rooks and Rabbit burrows round his seat—
S, sails the Swan slow down the Silver stream.

* * *

So big with Weddings, waddles W,
And brings all Womankind before your view;
A Wench, a Wife, a Widow, and a W—e,
With Woe behind, and Wantonneſs before.

When you and Mr Chute can get the remainder of *Mariane*[15], I shall be much obliged to you for it—I am terribly impatient.

her dismissal from Court in 1728, to which Gray here alludes, was due. The draft of the following letter to the King on this occasion is preserved among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection:

'The Dutchesse of Queensberry is surprized and well pleased that the King hase given her so agreable a Command, as to stay from Court; where Shee never came for diversion but to bestow a great Civility on the King and Queen. Shee hopes by such an unpresidented Order as this, that the King will see as few at his Court as He wishes; particularly such as dare to speak truth. I dare not doe otherwise; nor ought not; nor could have imagined that it would not have been the very highest compliment I could possibly pay the King, to endeavour to support truth and innocence in his house.

C. Queensberry.

Particularly when The King and Queen had both told me that They had not read Mr. Gay's Play. I have certainly done right then to stand by my own word rather then his Grace of Graftons, who hath neither made use of truth Judgement nor honour thro the whole affair, either for himselfe or his Freinds.'

The Duchess was received at Court again in this year (see Walpole to Mann, 26 June 1747).

[15] Marivaux's novel (see Letter 143, n. 5).

165. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I CAME to Town the Day, that you went out of it, & am now at Stoke very hot, & very well, thank 'ye. I embrace your Invitation, & shall be glad to make you a Visit at Strawberry-Hill[1]. the Week I leave to you; it is indifferent to me, what Time next Month it shall be: Mr Walpole & Comp: will settle it among them. you must inform me what Place on the Windsor Road is nearest Twickenham, for I am no Geographer: there I will be at the appointed Day, & from thence you must fetch me.

Nicolini with a whole Coach-full of the Chattichees[2] has been at Cambridge in an Equipage like that of Destiny & his Comrades in the Roman Comique[3]. they said they had been in the Meridional Parts of Great-Britain, & were now visiting the Oriental. your

LETTER 165.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Walpole had removed here from Windsor a few months before (see letters to Mann, 5 June; and to Conway, 8 June, 1747): 'In May, 1747, I took a small house near Twickenham, for seven years. I afterwards bought it, by Act of Parliament, it belonging to minors. . . . In one of the deeds I found it was called Strawberry Hill.' (*Short Notes.*)

[2] Panciatici, and Nicolini, and Pandolfini, Florentines then in England. *Walpole.*—The Abbate Niccolini and Pandolfini arrived in November, 1746 (Walpole to Mann, 4 Nov. 1746); Panciatici arrived in February, 1747 (Walpole to Mann, 23 Feb. 1747); they all remained in England until the following autumn (Walpole to Mann, 1 Sept. 1747).

[3] By Paul Scarron (1610–60); the reference is to the description in the first chapter of the *Roman Comique* of the 'charrette pleine de coffres, de malles, et de gros paquets . . . qui faisoient comme une pyramide', belonging to a troupe of strolling actors, the 'nom de théâtre' of whose leader was 'le Destin'.

Friend D^r^ Middleton has married really a pretty kind of Woman[4] both in Figure & Manner, w^ch^ is strange methinks. Adieu, I am

Yours ever

T GRAY.

Wednesday [August, 1747][5]

166. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

IF I am mistaken, You will have the Trouble of reading a few unneceſsary Lines: but I imagine a Letter[1] I wrote to you (about a Week after I received yours) has never come to your Hands. it was to say that I should be glad to make you a Visit as you propose, & left it to you what Time this Month it should be: only desired, that you would inform me a little beforehand, & tell me (who am too fine a Person to know where any English Place lies) whither Hounslow or Brentford be nearest Twickenham, where I would be

[4] His 3^d^. wife. *Walpole.*— Middleton's second wife had died in April, 1745. His third wife, whom he married when he was sixty-four, three years before his death (28 July 1750), was Anne, daughter of John Powell of Boughrood, near Radnor.

[5] That this letter was written in August is evident from the fact that Gray talks of visiting Walpole 'next month', while in the following letter (dated Sept. 9), in which he refers to the present letter, he talks of the visit as for 'this month'. The date of the year is determined by the reference to the 'Chattichees' (see n. 2). The actual date was probably Wednesday, 19 or 26 August 1747 (see Letter 166).

LETTER 166.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Letter 165.

on a certain Day, & you must fetch me from thence. Adieu! I am

Yours ever
T GRAY.

Stoke, at Mrs Rogers's[2].
Wednesday—Sept: 9. [1747][3]

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole Esq
at his House in Arlington Street
Westminster

Postmark: WIND-SOR[4] II SE

167. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Nov. Tuesday, Cambridge [1747][1].

IT is a misfortune to me to be at a distance from both of you at present[2]. A letter can give one so little idea of such matters! * * * * I always believed well of his heart and temper, and would gladly do so still. If they are as they should be, I should have expected every thing from such an explanation; for it is a tenet with me (a simple one, you'll perhaps

[2] His aunt (Ann Antrobus), the widow of Jonathan Rogers, who died in 1742 (see Letter 39, n. 3).

[3] See Letter 165, n. 5.

[4] The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible.

LETTER 167.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 388–9.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the reference to Lyttelton's *Monody* (see Letter 161, n. 5). Tuesdays in November 1747 were the 3rd, 10th, 17th, and 24th.

[2] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'at once'. It is probable that Ashton is the person here referred to. He and Walpole came to a final breach in 1750 (see Walpole to Mann, 25 July 1750, 'I have long had reason to complain of his behaviour; in short, my father is dead, and I can make no bishops. He has at last quite thrown off the mask'; see also letter to Mann of 22 Dec. 1750, *ad fin.*). (See Letter 170, n. 3.)

say), that if ever two people, who love one another, come to breaking, it is for want of a timely eclairciſement, a full and precise one, without witneſses or mediators, and without reserving any one disagreeable circumstance for the mind to brood upon in silence.

I am not totally of your mind as to Mr. Lyttleton's Elegy[3], though I love kids and fawns[4] as little as you do. If it were all like the fourth stanza[5], I should be exceſsively pleased. Nature and sorrow, and tenderneſs, are the true genius of such things; and something of these I find in several parts of it (not in the orange-tree)[6]: poetical ornaments are foreign to the purpose; for they only show a man is not sorry;—and devotion worse; for it teaches him, that he ought not to be sorry, which is all the pleasure of the thing. I beg leave to turn your weathercock the contrary way.

[3] See Letter 161, n. 5.

[4] Cf. Stanza VI:

'Sweet babes, who, like the little playful fawns,
Were wont to trip along these verdant lawns
By your delighted Mother's side,
Who now your infant steps shall guide?'

And Stanza XI:

'Ev'n for the kid or lamb that pour'd its life
Beneath the bloody knife
Her gentle tears would fall'.

[5] 'In vain I look around
O'er all the well-known ground
My Lucy's wonted footsteps to descry;
Where oft we us'd to walk,
Where oft in tender talk
We saw the summer sun go down the sky;
Nor by yon fountain's side
Nor where its waters glide
Along the valley, can she now be found:
In all the wide-stretch'd prospect's ample bound
No more my mournful eye
Can aught of her espy,
But the sad sacred earth where her dear relics lie.'

[6] In Stanza XIII:

'The verdant orange lifts its beauteous head:
From every branch the balmy flow'rets rise,
On every bough the golden fruits are seen;
With odours sweet it fills the smiling skies'.

Your Epistle[7] I have not seen a great while, and doctor M.[8] is not in the way to give me a sight of it: but I remember enough to be sure all the world will be pleased with it, even with all its *faults upon its head*, if you don't care to mend them. I would try to do it myself (however hazardous), rather than it should remain unpublished. As to my Eton Ode[9], Mr. Dodsley is *padrone*[10]. The second[11] you had, I suppose you do not think worth giving him: otherwise, to me it seems not worse than the former. He might have Selima[12] too, unleſs she be of too little importance for his patriot-collection; or perhaps the *connections* you had with her may interfere. *Che so io?* Adieu!

I am yours ever,

T. G.

168. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[1748][1]

I AM obliged to you for Mr. Dodsley's book[2], and, having pretty well looked it over, will (as you desire) tell you my opinion of it. He might, me-

[7] From Florence to Thomas Asheton. *Berry.*—See Letter 168, n. 22.

[8] Conyers Middleton (see Letter 168).

[9] *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* (see Letter 157, n. 4).

[10] To publish in his collection of poems. *Berry.*

[11] The Ode to Spring. *Berry.*—See Letter 157, n. 4.

[12] The Ode on Mr. Walpole's cat drowned in the tub of gold-fish. *Berry.*—See Letter 160, n. 4.

LETTER 168.—Now first printed in full. This letter was first printed in part by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 393–7; the remainder (see n. 45) is now first printed from fragment of original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the reference to Dodsley (see n. 2).

[2] *A Collection of Poems in Three Volumes by Several Hands*, London, 1748.

thinks, have spared the Graces[3] in his frontispiece, if he chose to be œconomical, and dreſsed his authors in a little more decent raiment—not in whited-brown paper and distorted characters, like an old ballad. I am ashamed to see myself; but the company keeps me in countenance: so to begin with Mr. Tickell[4]. This is not only a state-poem (my ancient aversion), but a state-poem on the peace of Utrecht[5]. If Mr. Pope had wrote a panegyric on it, one could hardly have read him with patience: but this is only a poor short-winded imitator of Addison, who had himself not above three or four notes in poetry[6], sweet enough indeed, like those of a German flute, but such as soon tire and satiate the ear with their frequent return. Tickell has added to this a great poverty of sense, and a string of transitions that hardly become a schoolboy. However, I forgive him for the sake of his ballad[7], which I always thought the prettiest in the world. All there is of M. Green[8] here has been printed before: there is a profusion of wit every where; reading would have formed his judgment, and harmonized

[3] There is a vignette of the Three Graces on the title-page.

[4] Thomas Tickell (1686–1740), deputy Professor of Poetry at Oxford in 1711, during the absence of Joseph Trapp, the first Professor.

[5] The first piece in the *Collection* (vol. i, pp. 5–23), the poem *On the Prospect of Peace*, first published in 1712, which was praised by Addison as 'a noble performance' in the *Spectator* for 30 Oct. 1712 (No. 523).

[6] See Letter 57, n. 15.

[7] *Colin and Lucy* (vol. i, pp. 24–7).

[8] Matthew Green (1696–1737); six pieces of his are included (vol. i, pp. 28 ff.), viz. *The Spleen* (his last poem, first published posthumously in 1737); *An Epigram*; *The Sparrow and Diamond*; *Jove and Semele*; *The Seeker*; and *On Barclay's Apology for the Quakers*.

his verse, for even his wood-notes often break out into strains of real poetry and music. The Schoolmistreſs[9] is excellent in its kind, and masterly; and (I am sorry to differ from you, but) London[10] is to me one of those few imitations, that have all the ease and all the spirit of an original. The same man's verses at the opening of Garrick's theatre[11] are far from bad. Mr. Dyer[12] (here you will despise me highly) has more of poetry in his imagination, than almost any of our number; but rough and injudicious. I should range Mr. Bramston[13] only a step or two above Dr. King[14], who is as low in my estimation as in yours. Dr. Evans[15] is a furious madman; and Pre-existence[16] is nonsense in all her altitudes. Mr. Lyttelton[17] is a gentle elegiac person: Mr. Nugent[18]

[9] By William Shenstone (1714–63); in vol. i, pp. 211 ff. (first published in 1742).

[10] By Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–84); in vol. i, pp. 101 ff. (an imitation of the third satire of Juvenal, first published in 1738).

[11] *Prologue spoken by Mr. Garrick at the Opening of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane* (in October, 1747) (vol. iii, pp. 150 ff.).

[12] John Dyer (*c.* 1700–58); two pieces of his are included (vol. i, pp. 72 ff.), viz. *Grongar Hill* (1727), and *The Ruins of Rome* (1740).

[13] James Bramston (*c.* 1694–1744); represented by two pieces (vol. i, pp. 115 ff.), *The Art of Politics* (a burlesque imitation of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, 1729), and *The Man of Taste* (1733).

[14] William King, D.C.L. (1663–1712), author of the *Dialogues of the Dead* (1699), an attack upon Bentley; represented here (vol. i, pp. 223 ff.) by *The Art of Cookery, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry* (1708).

[15] Abel Evans, D.D. (1679–1737), author of (vol. i, p. 238) *The Apparition; a Dialogue betwixt the Devil and a Doctor concerning the Rights of the Christian Church* (1710).

[16] *Pre-Existence, a Poem in Imitation of Milton*, anonymous (vol. i, p. 268).

[17] George Lyttelton (see Letter 161, n. 5); represented (vol. ii, pp. 3 ff.) by *The Progress of Love; in Four Eclogues* (1732).

[18] Robert Nugent (1702–88), later (1767) Baron Nugent and

sure did not write his own ode[19]. I like Mr. Whitehead's[20] little poems, I mean the Ode on a tent, the Verses to Garrick, and particularly those to Charles Townshend, better than any thing I had seen before of him. I gladly pafs over H. Brown[21], and the rest, to come at you. You know I was of the publishing side, and thought your reasons against it none; for though, as Mr. Chute said extremely well, the *still small voice* of Poetry was not made to be heard in a crowd; yet Satire will be heard, for all the audience are by nature her friends; especially when she appears in the spirit of Dryden, with his strength, and often with his versification; such as you have caught in those lines on the royal unction, on the papal dominion, and convents of both sexes, on Henry VIII. and Charles II. for these are to me the shining parts of your Epistle[22]. There are many lines I could wish

Viscount Clare (in Ireland), and (1776) Earl Nugent.

[19] His ode (vol. ii, p. 166) addressed to William Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath), first published in 1739. Walpole, who in a letter to Montagu (25 July 1748) speaks of this poem as Nugent's 'glorious Ode on religion and liberty', in his *Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second*, writes: 'Nugent had lost the reputation of a great poet, by writing works of his own, after he had acquired fame by an ode that was the joint production of several others'; and he adds in a note: 'It was addressed to Lord Bath, upon the author's change of his religion; but was universally believed to be written by Mallet, who was tutor to Newsham, Mr. Nugent's son, and improved by Mr. Pultney himself and Lord Chesterfield.'

[20] William Whitehead (1715–85), Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, afterwards (1757) Poet Laureate; his *Ode to a Gentleman on his pitching a Tent in his Garden*, and the verses to Garrick and to Charles Townshend are in vol. ii (pp. 244 ff.).

[21] Isaac Hawkins Browne (1705–60), author of *A Pipe of Tobacco*, in imitation of Pope, Swift, Thomson, &c. (vol. ii, pp. 276 ff.).

[22] *An Epistle from Florence to Thomas Ashton Esq., Tutor to the Earl of Plimouth* (vol. ii, pp. 305 ff.);

corrected, and some blotted out, but beauties enough to atone for a thousand worse faults than these. The opinion of such as can at all judge, who saw it before in Dr. Middleton's hands, concurs nearly with mine. As to what any one says, since it came out; our people (you must know) are slow of judgement; they wait till some bold body saves them the trouble, and then follow his opinion; or stay till they hear what is said in town, that is at some bishop's table, or some coffee-house about the Temple. When they are determined, I will tell you faithfully their verdict. As for the Beauties[23], I am their most humble servant. What shall I say to Mr. Lowth[24], Mr. Ridley[25], Mr. Rolle[26], the reverend Mr. Brown[27], Seward[28], &c.? If I say,

reprinted in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. i, pp. 4–16. It was written in 1740, and was highly praised by Gray at the time (see Letter 124 *ad fin.*).

[23] *The Beauties: An Epistle to Mr. Eckardt the Painter* (vol. ii, pp. 321 ff.); reprinted in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. i, pp. 19–24. This piece was written in July 1746, and printed in the following September. A third piece by Walpole, not mentioned by Gray, was also included in the *Collection*, viz. *The Epilogue to Tamerlane* (see Letter 158, n. 3).

[24] Walpole, in a manuscript note in his copy of Dodsley (now in the British Museum), states that the *Choice of Hercules* (vol. iii, p. 1) was by 'the Rev^{d} Mr. Lowth, since Bp. of Oxford and London', i. e. Robert Lowth (1710–87), Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1741–51; Bishop of Oxford, 1766–77; Bishop of London, 1777–87; and he adds that 'part of this poem has been set to music by Handel, and was first printed in Spence's *Polymetis*' (see Letter 162, n. 6).

[25] Glocester Ridley (1702–74); represented by two pieces (vol. iii, pp. 18–54), viz. *Psyche* and *Jovi Eleutherio, or an Offering to Liberty*.

[26] Author of *Life burthensome, an Epistle* (vol. iii, pp. 58 ff.).

[27] John Brown (1715–66), subsequently well known as the author of *An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times* (1757); two pieces of his are included in the *Collection* (vol. iii, pp. 99–136), viz. *Honour* (1743), and an *Essay upon Satire*.

[28] Thomas Seward (1708–90), Canon of Lichfield, father of Anna Seward; author of *The Female Right to Literature* and three other poems (vol. ii, pp. 295–304).

Meſsieurs! this is not the thing; write prose, write sermons, write nothing at all; they will disdain me, and my advice. What then would the sickly peer[29] have done, that spends so much time in admiring everything that has four legs, and fretting at his own misfortune in having but two; and cursing his own politic head and feeble constitution, that won't let him be such a beast as he would wish? Mr. S. Jenyns[30] now and then can write a good line or two—such as these—

Snatch us from all our little sorrows here,
Calm every grief, and dry each childish tear, &c.

I like Mr. Aston Hervey's fable[31]; and an ode[32] (the last of all) by Mr. Mason[33], a new acquaintance

[29] Lord Hervey. *Berry.*—Eldest son of the first Earl of Bristol (see Letter 101, n. 6). Throughout his life he suffered from bad health, and had what Walpole describes as 'a coffin-face' (to Mann, 7 Jan. 1742). He was the Sporus, 'that mere white curd of Ass's milk', of Pope's *Epistle to Arbuthnot* (l. 306). Gray's reference is to Hervey's two *Epistles to Mr. Fox* in Dodsley's *Collection* (vol. iii, pp. 240 ff.).

[30] Soame Jenyns (1704–87), M.P. for Cambridgeshire; ten pieces by him are included in the *Collection* (vol. iii, pp. 153 ff.). The couplet quoted by Gray comes from the last, *An Essay on Virtue* (p. 206).

[31] A slip of Gray's—*The Female Drum: or, the Origin of Cards. A Tale. Addrest to the Honourable Miss Carpenter* (vol. iii, p. 232), according to Walpole (see n. 24), was by 'the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Hervey Aston'; Miss Carpenter, he notes, was 'afterwards Countess of Egremont'.

[32] *Ode to a Water Nymph* (vol. iii, p. 330).

[33] William Mason (1724–97), the friend, literary executor, and biographer of Gray, whose acquaintance he had made in the previous year (1747), and by whom he was familiarly called 'Scroddles'. He was at this time scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and two years later, largely through the influence of Gray, was elected Fellow of Pembroke. In 1754 he became Rector of Aston, Yorkshire, and Chaplain to the Earl of Holdernesse. He was subsequently Chaplain to the King, 1757–60, 1761–3; Canon

of mine, whose Musæus too seems to carry with it the promise at least of something good to come. I was glad to see you distinguished who poor West was, before his charming ode[34], and called it anything rather than a Pindaric. The town is an owl, if it don't like Lady Mary[35], and I am surprised at it: we here are owls enough to think her eclogues[36] very bad; but that I did not wonder at. Our present taste is sir T. Fitz-Osborne's Letters[37]. I send you a bit of a thing for two reasons; first, because it is one of your favourites, Mr. M. Green[38]; and next, because I would do justice. The thought on which my second ode[39] turns is manifestly stole from hence:—not that I knew it at the time, but, having[40] seen this many

Residentiary of York, 1762; and Precentor of York, 1763. He became acquainted with Horace Walpole in 1763, and was on terms of intimacy with him until 1784, when a political difference put an end to their friendship. Mason was the author of a number of plays, satires, and poems, many of which underwent a minute revision at the hands of Gray before publication. His *Musæus* (mentioned above), a monody to the memory of Pope, had been published in the previous year (1747).

34 His *Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline* (vol. ii, pp. 269 ff.), written in 1737; it is described as 'By Richard West, Esq.; Son to the Chancellor of Ireland, and Grandson to Bishop Burnet'. The poem is reprinted in Tovey's *Gray and his Friends*, pp. 110 ff.

35 See Letter 125, n. 11.

36 *Six Town Eclogues* (vol. iii. pp. 274 ff.); they had been printed (not for the first time) in the previous year, and published by Dodsley at the instance of Walpole, who writing to Mann (24 Nov. 1747) says of them, 'they don't please, though so excessively good'.

37 *Letters on Several Subjects*, by Sir Thomas Fitzosborne, a pseudonym of William Melmoth (1710–99), the translator of the letters of Pliny, and of Cicero *Ad Familiares*. The first volume of 'Fitzosborne's Letters', which had appeared in 1742, was re-issued, together with a second volume, in this year.

38 See n. 8.

39 The *Ode on the Spring* (see Letter 157, n. 4).

40 The remainder of the letter, from this point, is printed from the original.

Years before, to be sure it imprinted itself on my Memory, & forgetting the Author, I took it for my own. the Subject was the Queen's Hermitage[41].

* *

Tho' yet no Palace grace the Shore
To lodge the Pair you[42] should adore;
Nor Abbies great in Ruins rise,
Royal Equivalents for Vice:
Behold a Grott in Delphic Grove
The Graces & the Muses[43] love,
A Temple from Vain-Glory free;
Whose Goddefs is Philosophy;
Whose Sides such licensed Idols[44] crown,
As Superstition would pull down:
The only Pilgrimage I know,
That Men of Sense would chuse to go.
W^ch^ sweet Abode, her wisest Choice,
Urania cheers with heavenly Voice:
While all the Virtues gather round
To see her consecrate the Ground.
If Thou, the God with winged Feet,
In Council talk of this Retreat;

[41] Otherwise known as 'Merlin's Cave' (see Letter 47, n. 11). Green's poem was first printed privately in 1732. Gray subsequently made public acknowledgement of his indebtedness to Green in a note attached to the first line of the fourth stanza of his *Ode*.

[42] Speaking to the Thames. *Gray*.

[43] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'The Graces' and the Muses''.

[44] The four Busts. *Gray*.—As a matter of fact there were five busts, as appears from the following lines of a poem, *In Richmond Gardens*, printed in the *London Magazine* for 1738 (p. 38):

'Next to my view the *Hermitage* appears
* * * *
Within on curious marble carv'd compleat,
Majestic *Boyle* claims a superior seat.
Newton and *Locke*, *Clarke*, *Wollaston* appear,
Drest with the native robes they us'd to wear.'

And jealous Gods Resentment shew
At Altars raised to Men below:
Tell those proud Lords of Heaven, 'tis fit
Their House our Heroes should admit.
While each exists (as Poets sing)
A lazy, lewd, immortal, Thing:
They must, or grow in Disrepute,
With Earth's first Commoners recruit.
Needleſs it is in Terms unskill'd
To praise, whatever Boyle shall build.
Needleſs it is the Busts to name
Of Men, Monopolists of Fame;
Four Chiefs adorn the modest Stone
For Virtue, as for Learning, known.
The thinking Sculpture helps to raise
Deep Thoughts, the Genii of the Place:
To the Mind's Ear, & inward Sight,
There Silence speaks, & Shade gives Light:
While Insects from the Threshold preach,
And Minds disposed to Musing teach;
Proud of strong Limbs & painted Hues
They perish by the slightest Bruise
Or Maladies begun within
Destroy more slow Life's frail Machine:
From Maggot-Youth thro' Change of State
They feel like us the Turns of Fate;
Some born to creep have lived to fly,
And changed Earth's Cells for Dwellings high:
And some, that did their six Wings keep,
Before they died, been forced to creep.
They Politicks, like ours, profeſs:
The greater prey upon the leſs.
Some strain on Foot huge Loads to bring,
Some toil inceſsant on the Wing:
Nor from their vigorous Schemes desist
Till Death; & then are never mist.

Some frolick, toil, marry, increase,
Are sick & well, have War & Peace,
And broke with Age in half a Day
Yield to Succeſsors, & away.

* *

[45] Please to tell M[r] Chute, that I never borrow'd any Life of Mahomet (if that be his Meaning) having read Boulainvillers[46] long ago: but that I have Du Clos' Louis Onze[47], & will send it him, if you will be so good as to send me Directions both to M[r] Whithed; & M[r] Chute (per se) at his Lodgeings, w[ch] I would be glad to know for more Reasons than this. I hear Lamb-Pye[48] is dead, & could have wished to be told the Consequences: but both You & He, I doubt, will grow to regard me in the Light of a *Miscellaneous Writer*. Adieu, I am

Yours ever

T G:

P:S: If You chance to see a Letter of mine in any body's Hand, this is the History of it. D[r] Whalley[49], who has hated me ever since that Affair of M[r] Turner[50], thought fit to intimate to a large Table full of People, that I was a Kind of Atheist. I wrote to him partly to laugh

[45] The remainder of the letter from this point (except the signature), and the postscript are omitted by Miss Berry, and subsequent editors.

[46] *La Vie de Mahomed* (Lond. 1730), by Henri Comte de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722).

[47] *Histoire de Louis Onze* (1745), by Charles Pinot Duclos (1704–72).

[48] Who this was does not appear.

[49] Master of Peterhouse (see Letter 154, n. 3).

[50] Shallet Turner, Regius Professor of Modern History (see Letter 154, n. 2).

at, & partly to reprove him for his Malice; & (as what he said was publick) I shew'd my Letter to several of those, who had heard him; & threaten'd (not in earnest, you may imagine) to have it hawk'd about Streets. they took me literally, & by Way of Anticipation my Letter has been consign'd to one Etoffe [51] (a Fiend of a Parson, that you know) to shew about here, & to carry to Town, if any one will read it. he makes Criticisms on it, & has found out a false Spelling, I'm told. Adieu!

[51] Rev. Henry Etough or Etoffe, Rector of Therfield (Herts.) and Colmworth (Beds.), a creature of Sir Robert Walpole; according to Mitford he was originally a Jew, but renounced his religion for the sake of a valuable living, and was as remarkable for the eccentricities of his character as for his personal appearance. Gray, who had a special aversion for him, wrote the following epigram on a drawing of him under the name of Tophet (an anagram of Etoffe):

'Thus Tophet look'd; so grinn'd the brawling fiend,
Whilst frighted prelates bow'd and call'd him friend;
I saw them bow, and while they wished him dead,
With servile simper nod the mitred head.
Our mother-church, with half-averted sight,
Blush'd as she bless'd her griesly proselyte;
Hosannas rung through hell's tremendous borders,
And Satan's self had thoughts of taking orders.'

Of this drawing Sir Egerton Brydges gives the following account in *Restituta* (vol. iv, pp. 246 ff.): 'In 1769 Mr. Gray of Pembroke having the sketch in his possession gave it to Mr. Tyson of Benet College, who in November of that year engraved it and gave me several copies. It is very like him; the legs and feet are too small. It would have been more like his figure, had it been drawn in a loose great coat, which he always wore, of a brown colour.' The etching (the original of which is now in the British Museum) is reproduced by Mitford (*Works of Gray*, vol. i, p. 159).

169. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Sunday, Nov: 12 [1749][1]. Cambridge.

Dear Sr,

I HOPE in God it is your Uncle[2], or his Son[3] (for News-Papers are apt to confound ye) but from the Circumstances I fear it must be you, that have had so very narrow an Escape from Death. excuse me, if I am sollicitous to know how you are after such a Surprise; & whether you have really met with no considerable Hurt from this Accident. or was it an Accident, & did they only mean to rob you[4]?

Letter 169.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the reference to Walpole's 'accident' (see n. 4).

[2] Horatio Walpole (1698–1757), younger brother of Sir Robert, afterwards (1756) Baron Walpole of Wolterton; he was Horace Walpole's godfather.

[3] Horatio Walpole (1723–1809), eldest son of the preceding, whom he succeeded (1757) as second Baron Walpole of Wolterton; he was at this time M.P. for King's Lynn.

[4] In his *Short Notes* Walpole writes: 'One night in the beginning of November, 1749, as I was returning from Holland House by moonlight, about ten at night, I was attacked by two highwaymen in Hyde Park, and the pistol of one of them going off accidentally, razed the skin under my eye, left some marks of shot on my face, and stunned me. The ball went through the top of the chariot, and if I had sat an inch nearer to the left side, must have gone through my head.' The actual date was Nov. 7—'The Hon. *Horatio Walpole*, brother to the E. of *Orford*, who was robbed by two men on the 7th in *Hyde-Park*, when a pistol going off shot thro' the coach, and scorch'd his face, received a letter from the robbers, intimating their concern for the accident, and their apprehension of the consequences at that time; and that, if he would send, to a place named, a person would be there to deliver his watch, sword, and coachman's watch, if he would, on his honour, send 40 guineas in less than an hour to the same place, with threats of destruction if he did not. But he did not comply, tho' he afterwards offered 20, the sum they fell to in a 2d letter' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1749, Nov., p. 522).

I sincerely rejoice at your Delivrance, & hope soon to tell you so in Town; but in the mean time should be glad to know from yourself how it happen'd; & how it feels, when one returns back from the very Brink of Destruction. believe me, my dear S^r^, ever

Yours,
T GRAY.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: CAM 13
BRIDGE NO

170. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Stoke, June 12, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

AS I live in a place, where even the ordinary tattle of the town arrives not till it is stale, and which produces no events of its own, you will not desire any excuse from me for writing so seldom, especially as of all people living I know you are the least a friend to letters spun out of one's own brains, with all the toil and constraint that accompanies sentimental productions. I have been here at Stoke a few days (where I shall continue good part of the summer); and having put an end to a thing[1], whose beginning you have seen long

LETTER 170.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, p. 386.

[1] This was the Elegy in the church-yard. *Berry.*

ago [2], I immediately send it you. You will, I hope, look upon it in the light of a *thing with an end to it*; a merit that most of my writings have wanted, and are like to want, but which this epistle I am determined shall not want, when it tells you that I am ever

Yours,

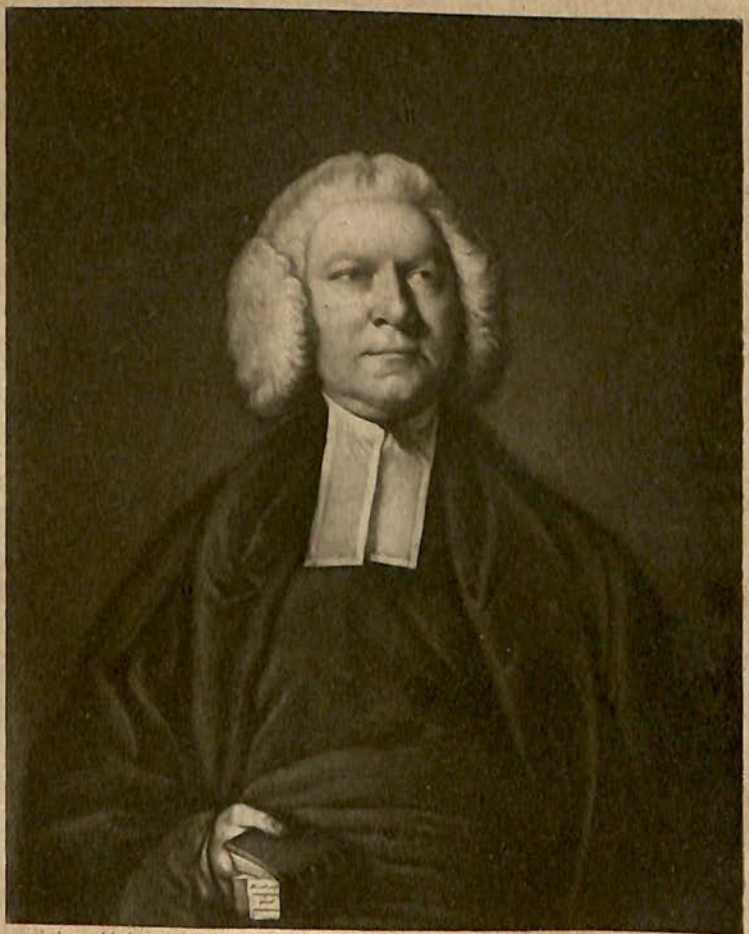
T. GRAY.

Not that I have done yet; but who could avoid the temptation of finishing so roundly and so cleverly in the manner of good queen Anne's days? Now I have talked of writings; I have seen a book, which is by this time in the press, against Middleton (though without naming him), by Asheton [3]. As far as I can judge from a very hasty reading, there are things in it new and ingenious, but rather too prolix, and the style here and there savouring too strongly of sermon. I imagine it will

[2] The *Elegy*, begun probably in 1742 (the year of West's death), was apparently laid aside until 1749; it was then resumed, and completed in this year. Walpole had seen the beginning of it some five years before (see his letter to Mason of 1 Dec. 1773: '*The Churchyard* was, I am persuaded, posterior to West's death at least three or four years. . . . At least I am sure that I had the twelve or more first lines from himself above three years after that period').

[3] It was the publication of this book which brought about the final rupture between Walpole and Ashton—'He has at last quite thrown off the mask, and in the most direct manner, against my will, has written against my friend D[r] Middleton . . . I have forbid him my house' (Walpole to Mann, 25 July 1750). (See Letter 167, n. 2.) The book in question was *A Dissertation on 2 Peter i. 19, in which it is shewn that the interpretation of this passage . . . as it is proposed by the author* of the 'Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion' is not probably the sense of the Author.* By Thomas Ashton: London. 1750.

* Anthony Collins (1676–1729).



J. Reynolds pinx.t

J.o M.a Bidell fec.t

Thomas Ashton D.D.

Collegii Etonensis, prope Windsoram Socius;
Ecclesiæ Sancti Botolphi ad portam Episcopalem,
extra Muros, Londini Rector.

Emery & Walker Lith.

do him credit. So much for other people, now to *self* again. You are desired to tell me your opinion, if you can take the pains, of these lines.' I am once more

Ever yours.

171. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge, Feb. 11. 1751][1]

My dear Sr

As you have brought me into a little Sort of Distreſs, you must aſsist me, I believe, to get out of it, as well as I can. yesterday I had the Misfortune of receiving a Letter from certain Gentlemen (as their Bookseller expreſses it) who have taken the *Magazine of Magazines* into their Hands. they tell me, that an *ingenious* Poem, call'd, *Reflections*[2] in a Country-Churchyard, has been communicated to them, wch they are printing forthwith: that they are inform'd, that the *excellent* Author of it is I by name, & that they beg not only his *Indulgence*, but the *Honor of his Correspondence*[3], &c: as I am not at all disposed to be either so indulgent, or so correspondent, as they desire; I have but one bad Way left to escape the Honour they would inflict upon

Letter 171.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part (in a garbled text) by Mason, in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, p. 222 (see Letter 28 n.).

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year (which has been inserted in the original by Mason) is determined by the reference to the publication of the *Elegy* (see n. 4).

[2] Mason: 'Reflections'.

[3] Mason: 'the *honour* of his correspondence'.

me. & therefore am obliged to desire you would make Dodsley print it immediately (w^ch^ may be done in leſs than a Week's time[4]) from your Copy, but without my Name, in what Form is most convenient for him, but in[5] his best Paper & Character. he must correct the Preſs himself, & print it without any Interval between the Stanza's, because the Sense is in some Places continued beyond them; & the Title must be, Elegy, wrote[6] in a Country Church-yard. if he would add a Line or two to say it came into his Hands by Accident[7], I should like it better. [8] if you think fit, the 102^d^ Line may be read

Awake, & faithful to her wonted Fires[9].

but if this be worse than before; it must go, as it was. in the 126^th^, for *ancient*[10] Thorn, read *aged*[8].

If you behold the Mag: of Mag:[8] in the Light that I do, you will not refuse to give yourself this Trouble

[4] It was actually published by Dodsley in five days from this date, viz. on 16 Feb. 1751, as a 4to pamphlet, price sixpence (see Gosse, *Life of Gray*, ed. 1909, p. 104).

[5] Mason: 'on'.

[6] Mason: 'written'.

[7] In the *Advertisement* prefixed to the first edition the Editor (i.e. Walpole) says: 'The following Poem came into my Hands by Accident, if the general Approbation with which this little Piece has been spread, may be call'd by so slight a Term as Accident. It. is this Approbation which makes it unnecessary for me to make any Apology but to the Author: As he cannot but feel some Satisfaction in having pleas'd so many Readers already, I flatter myself he will forgive my communicating that Pleasure to many more.'

[8–8] This passage is omitted by Mason.

[9] In Stanza 23—the line so appeared in the first edition, but was subsequently altered to its present form.

[10] In Stanza 29—this alteration was made and was maintained.

on my Account, w^ch^ you have taken of your own Accord before now[11]. Adieu, S^r^, I am

Yours ever
TG:[11]

If Dodsley don't[12] do this immediately,
he may as well let it alone[13].

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole, Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: CAM 12
BRIDGE FE

172. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Ash-Wednesday [Feb. 20], Cambridge, 1751.

My dear Sir,

YOU have indeed conducted with great decency my little *misfortune*[1]: you have taken a paternal care of it, and expreſsed much more kindneſs than could have been expreſsed from so near a relation. But we are all frail; and I hope to do as much for you another time. Nurse Dodsley has given it a pinch or two[2] in the cradle, that (I doubt) it will bear the marks of as long as it lives. But no matter: we have ourselves suffered under her hands before now; and besides, it will only

[11–11] This passage is omitted by Mason.

[12] Mason: 'do not'.

[13] Mason prints the postscript as part of the body of the letter.

Letter 172.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v p. 387.

[1] His bantling, the *Elegy*.

[2] See Letter 173.

look the more careleſs, and by *accident*[3] as it were. I thank you for your advertisement[4], which saves my honour, and in a manner *bien flatteuse pour moi*, who should be put to it even to make myself a compliment in good English.

You will take me for a mere poet, and a fetcher and carrier of singsong, if I tell you that I intend to send you the beginning of a drama[5], not mine, thank God, as you'll believe, when you hear it is finished, but wrote by a person whom I have a very good opinion of. It is (unfortunately) in the manner of the ancient drama, with choruses, which I am, to my shame, the occasion of; for, as great part of it was at first written in that form, I would not suffer him to change it to a play fit for the stage, as he intended, because the lyric parts are the best of it, and they must have been lost. The story is Saxon, and the language has a tang of Shakespear, that suits an old-fashioned fable very well. In short, I don't do it merely to amuse you, but for the sake of the author, who wants a judge, and so I would lend him *mine*: yet not without your leave, lest you should have us up to dirty our stockings at the bar of your house for wasting the time and politics of the *nation*. Adieu, sir!

I am ever yours,

T. Gray.

[3] See Letter 171.

[4] See Letter 171, n. 7.

[5] This was the Elfrida of Mr. Mason. *Berry*.

173. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Cambridge, March 3, 1751.

ELFRIDA (for that is the fair one's name) and her author [1] are now in town together. He has promised me, that he will send a part of it to you some morning while he is there; and (if you shall think it worth while to descend to particulars) I should be glad you would tell me very freely your opinion about it; for he shall know nothing of the matter, that is not fit for the ears of a *tender* parent—though, by the way, he has ingenuity and merit enough (whatever his drama may have) to bear hearing his faults very patiently. I must only beg you not to show it, much lefs let it be copied; for it will be published, though not as yet.

I do not expect any more editions [2], as I have appeared in more magazines than one [3]. The chief errata were *sacred* bower for *secret* [4]; *hidden* for *kindred* [5] (in spite of dukes and claſsicks) [6]; and *frowning* as in scorn for *smiling* [7]. I humbly propose, for the benefit of Mr.

LETTER 173.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 387–8.

[1] Mason (see Letter 172, n. 5).

[2] Of the Elegy in the churchyard. *Berry.*—As a matter of fact it 'went thro' four editions, in two months' (MS. note of Gray, printed in Gosse's *Gray*, ed. 1909, p. 104).

[3] In the *Magazine of Magazines* for February (vol. ii, p. 160), and in the *London Magazine* for March (vol. xx, pp. 134–5).

[4] In Stanza 3.

[5] In Stanza 24.

[6] This allusion has not been explained.

[7] In Stanza 27.

Dodsley and his matrons, that take *awake*[8] for a verb, that they should read *asleep*, and all will be right. Gil Blas[9] is the Lying Valet[10] in five acts. The Fine Lady[11] has half-a-dozen good lines dispersed in it. Pompey is the hasty production of a Mr. Coventry[12] (cousin to him you knew[13]), a young clergyman: I found it out by three characters, which once made part of a comedy that he showed me of his own writing. Has that miracle of *tenderneſs and sensibility* (as she calls it) lady Vane[14] given you any amusement? Peregrine, whom she uses as a vehicle, is very poor indeed with a few exceptions. In the last volume is a character of Mr. Lyttelton, under the name of Gosling Scrag, and

[8] In Stanza 23—see Letter 171, n. 9.

[9] By Edward Moore (1712–57), afterwards editor of the *World* (1753–7); *Gil Blas* had been produced at Drury Lane on Feb. 2 of this year, and ran for nine nights.

[10] Adapted by Garrick from Motteux's *Novelty*; first produced at Goodman's Fields in 1741.

[11] Miss Berry: 'The fine lady'. The reference apparently is to *The Modern Fine Lady* (1750) of Soame Jenyns (see Letter 168, n. 30).

[12] Francis Coventry (d. *c.* 1759), of Magdalene College, Cambridge (B.A. 1748); his satirical romance, *Pompey the Little, or the Adventures of a Lapdog*, was published this year.

[13] Henry Coventry (*c.* 1710–52), Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge (B.A. 1729), nephew of the fifth Earl of Coventry; he was the author of *A Dialogue between Philemon and Hydaspes on false Religion* (1736–44) (see Walpole to Montagu, 30 May 1736).

[14] Frances Anne Hawes (1713–88), daughter of a South Sea Director; she married, first (1732) William Hamilton (d. 1734), second son of the fourth Duke of Hamilton; secondly (1735) William Vane, second Viscount Vane (d. 1789). Smollett, whose *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* was published this year, in consideration of a handsome fee, inserted in chapter 81 of his novel her *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*. 'My Lady Vane has literally published the Memoirs of her own life, only suppressing part of her lovers, no part of the success of the others with her: a degree of profligacy not to be accounted for' (Walpole to Mann, 13 March 1751).

a parody of part of his Monody [15], under the notion of a pastoral on the death of his grandmother.

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

174. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Cambridge . . April 16 [1751] [1]

I AM ashamed, but not astonish'd at poor Mr Whithed's [2] Insensibility. yet I had settled it with myself before, that he would give Mr Chute 500*l.* a Year, wch I thought at least by half too little. but this was just the Thing, in wch Mr Chute neither would, nor could, suggest to him what he ought to do; & so he has done accordingly. I hope, it was only negative Ingratitude; but (I own to you) I do suspect, there was a little Reflection in it, & that his Conversations with Mr L:, & perhaps with another Person, who knows the Value of Money, better than that of Friendship, might have had their Effect upon his Mind. I do not wonder, that Mr Chute is satisfied with every Thing: I even believe, that when Time shall convince him, that Whithed has fall'n extremely short in his Acknowledgements to him, it will rather add to his Concern, than

[15] See Letter 161, n. 5. The attack on Lyttelton was withdrawn by Smollett from the second edition.

LETTER 174.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year, which has been inserted in the original by Mason, is determined by the references to the deaths of Mr. Whithed and Lord Orford (see nn. 2, 4).

[2] Francis Whithed, the intimate friend of John Chute (see Letter 161, n. 3), had died at the Vyne, Mr. Chute's family residence, in March of this year (1751).

diminish it. my best Wishes always accompany him; & I can only *wish*, that they were of more Consequence. what a Change this Loſs will make in his future Life! I can only gueſs at the Extent of it. the Brothers are nasty People[3], that don't deserve mentioning. I see *Alexander* sets himself up in his Brother's Room, wch (I hope in God) will considerably reduce his Share in the Inheritance.

You surprise me with the Account you give me of the Alteration in your own Family. what a Man must my Ld O:[4] have been, who might so easily have prevented it? I am heartily concerned for the Share you must bear in it. sure Your Uncle[5], & Mrs H:[6], have it in their Power, if not to retrieve, at least much to alleviate, this Misfortune; for from the Mother[7] no body would expect anything. perhaps the good Qualities you mention in your Nephew[8] may go farther in repairing his Loſs, than any of his Relations

3 'Whithed's youngest brother, the clergyman, is the greatest brute in the world, except the elder brother, the layman' (Walpole to Mann, 1 April 1751).

4 Robert Walpole, second Earl of Orford, Horace Walpole's eldest brother, had died on March 20. 'He ordered to be drawn and executed his will with the greatest tranquillity and satisfaction on Saturday morning. His spoils are prodigious—not to his own family! indeed I think his son the most ruined young man in England. My loss, I fear, may be considerable . . . It is no small addition to my concern, to fear or foresee that Houghton and all the remains of my father's glory will be pulled to pieces!' (Walpole to Mann, *loc. cit.*).

5 Horatio Walpole, Sir Robert's younger brother (see Letter 169, n. 2).

6 Mary Magdalen, daughter and co-heir of Peter Lombard; she married Horatio Walpole in 1720.

7 The Countess of Orford (see Letter 125, n. 10).

8 George Walpole (1730–91), third Earl of Orford. In later life he was frequently insane. On his death Horace Walpole succeeded to the title as fourth Earl of Orford.

could have done. from the little I had seen & heard of him, it did not seem probable, that he could continue long in the thoughtleſs Ways of Folly. You were very good, when you found Time to let me know, what I am interested in, not barely from Curiosity, but because it touches you so nearly. I can return that kindneſs no otherwise, than by not taking up your Attention longer, when it is so fully employed on your own Affairs. Adieu, my dear Sr, I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: CAM BRIDGE 17 AP

175. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Hymn to Adversity[1].

DAUGHTER of Jove, relentleſs Power,
Thou Tamer of the human Breast!
Whose iron Scourge, & torturing Hour,
The bad affright, afflict the best,
Bound in thy adamantine Chain
The Proud are taught to tast of Pain

Letter 175.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 390–2.

[1] Originally written at Stoke in August, 1742. The poem is omitted by Miss Berry.

And purple Tyrants vainly groan
With Pangs unfelt before, unpitied & alone.

When first thy Sire to send on Earth
Virtue, his darling Child, design'd,
To Thee he gave the heav'nly Birth
And bad to form her infant Mind.
Stern rugged Nurse! thy rigid Lore
With Patience many a Year she bore:
What Sorrow was thou bad'st her know,
And from her own she learn'd to melt at other's Woe.

Scared at thy Frown terrific, fly
Self-pleasing Folly's idle Brood,
Wild Laughter, Noise, & thoughtleſs Joy,
And leave us Leisure to be good:
Light they disperse, & with them go
The Summer-Friend, the flatt'ring Foe;
By vain Prosperity received,
To her they vow their Truth, & are again believed.

Wisdom in sable Garb array'd,
Immers'd in rapturous Thought profound,
And Melancholy, silent Maid,
With leaden Eye, that loves the Ground
Still on thy solemn Steps attend:
Warm Charity, the general Friend,
With Justice, to herself severe,
And Pity, dropping soft the sadly-pleasing Tear.

Oh! gently on thy Suppliant's Head
Dread Goddeſs lay thy chast'ning Hand,
Not in thy Gorgon-Terrors clad,
Nor circled with the vengeful Band,

As by the Impious thou art seen,
With thund'ring Voice, & threat'ning Mien,
With screaming Horrour's funeral Cry,
Despair, & fell Disease, & ghastly Poverty.

Thy Form benign, oh Goddeſs, wear,
Thy milder Influence impart;
Thy philosophic Train be there
To soften, not to wound, my Heart.
The generous Spark extinct revive,
Teach me to love, & to forgive,
Exact my own Defects to scan,
What others are, to feel, & know myself a Man.

I send you this (as you desire) merely to make up half a dozen[2]; tho' it will hardly answer your End in furnishing out either a Head or Tail-piece. but your own Fable[3] may much better supply the Place. you have alter'd it to its Advantage; but there is still something a little embarraſs'd here & there in the Expreſsion.

[2] The other five presumably were the *Ode on the Spring* (see Letter 157, n. 4), the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* (see Letter 164, n. 2), the *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat* (see Letter 160, n. 4), the *Elegy* (see Letter 170, n. 2), and the *Long Story* (see Letter 180, n. 8). These were the six poems which were published in 1753, with the designs of Bentley (see Letter 179, n. 1), in a folio volume which Walpole apparently was planning at this time.

[3] Miss Berry, Mitford, and others state that this was *The Entail*; but, as Tovey points out, that fable was not written until 1754 (see Walpole's *Short Notes* under that year). The reference is to *The Funeral of the Lioness* (printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iv, pp. 377–80), which, as Walpole records in his *Short Notes*, was written in this year (1751). A copy of this fable in Walpole's handwriting, and with jottings on the back by Gray (evidently the copy sent to him by Walpole), is among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection.

I rejoice to find you apply (pardon the Use of so odious a Word) to the History of your own Times[4]. speak, & spare not. be as impartial as you can; & after all, the World will not believe, you are so, tho' you should make as many Protestations as Bishop Burnet[5]. they will feel in their own Breast, & find it very posſible to hate fourscore Persons, yea, ninety & nine: so you must rest satisfied with the Testimony of your own Conscience. somebody has laughed at Mr Dodsley or at me, when they talk'd of the *Bat*: I have nothing more, either nocturnal or diurnal, to deck his Miscellany[6] with. we have a Man here that writes a good Hand; but he has two[7] little Failings, that hinder my recommending him to you[8]. he is lousy, & he is mad: he sets out this Week for Bedlam; but if you insist upon it, I don't doubt he will pay his Respects to you.

[4] His *Memoirs* (see Letter 158, n. 4), published after his death under the title of *Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second* (1822).

[5] In the preface to the *History of his own Time* Burnet writes: 'I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of Truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out.'

[6] Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, of which the first three volumes were published in 1748 (see Letter 168, n. 2); a fourth was added in 1749, and two more in 1758.

[7] Miss Berry omits 'two'

[8] As an amanuensis. *Berry.*— It has been suggested that the person here in question was the poet, Christopher Smart (1722–71), who was a Fellow of Pembroke, but was in embarrassed circumstances, having been arrested for debt a few years before, when he was obliged to lie in hiding in order to escape from his creditors (see Gray to Wharton, 30 Nov. 1747). Smart answers Gray's description as to being 'lousy and mad', for he was confined as a lunatic in Bedlam for a short time in this year (1751), and again in 1763; and Boswell records Johnson's remark that it was charged against him 'that he did not love clean linen'.

I have seen two of Dr M:idns[9] unpublish'd Works. one is about 44 Pages in 4to against Dr Waterland[10], who wrote a very orthodox Book on the Importance of the Doctrine of ye Trinity, & insisted, that Christians ought to have no Communion with such as differ from them in Fundamentals. M:idn enters no farther into the Doctrine itself than to shew that a mere speculative Point can never be call'd a Fundamental; & that the earlier Fathers, on whose concurrent Tradition Wat:d would build, are so far, when they speak of the three Persons, from agreeing with the present Notion of our Church, that they declare for the Inferiority of the Son, & seem to have no clear & distinct Idea of the H: Ghost at all. the rest is employed in exposing the Folly & Cruelty of Stiffneſs & Zealotism in Religion, & in shewing that the primitive Ages of the Church, in wch Tradition had its Rise, were (even by Confeſsion[11] of the best Scholars & most orthodox Writers) the *Æra of Nonsense & Absurdity.* it is finish'd, & very well wrote; but has been mostly incorporated into his other Works, particularly the Enquiry: & for this Reason I suppose he has writ upon it, *This wholly laid aside.* the second is in Latin, on Miracles; to shew, that of the two Methods of defending Christianity, one from its intrinsic Evidence, the Holineſs and Purity of its Doctrines; the other from its external, the Miracles

[9] Conyers Middleton (see Letter 38, n. 5); he had died in July of the previous year, leaving behind him several works in manuscript.

[10] See Letter 162, n. 3. His work, *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity Asserted*, was published in 1734.

[11] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'by the confession'.

said to be wrought to confirm it[12]. the first has been little attended to by reason of its Difficulty; the second much insisted upon, because it appear'd an easier Task, but that it can in reality[13] prove nothing at all. 'Nobilis illa quidem Defensio (the first) quam si obtinere potuiſsent, rem simul omnem expediiſse, causamq, penitús viciſse viderentur. at causæ hujus defendendæ labor cum tantâ argumentandi cavillandiq, molestiâ conjunctus ad alteram, quam dixi, defensionis viam, ut commodiorem longé & faciliorem, plerosque adegit——ego veró istiusmodi defensione Religionem nostram non modo non confirmari, sed dubiam potiús suspectamq, reddi existimo.' he then proceeds to consider Miracles in general, & afterwards those of the Pagans, compared with those of X^{t}. I only tell you the Plan, for I have not read it out (tho' it is short) but you will not doubt to what Conclusion it tends. there is another Thing, I know not what, I am to see. as to the Treatise on Prayer; they say, it is burnt indeed[14]. Adieu, I am ever

Yours

TG.

Sept: 8. [1751][15] Camb:

[12] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'said to be wrought confirm it'.

[13] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'but that, in reality, it can'.

[14] A treatise on the inefficacy of prayer is said to have been burnt by Dr. William Heberden, to whom Middleton's widow handed over his unpublished manuscripts. It was rumoured that several other works were destroyed at the same time.

[15] The date of the month has been altered in the original (apparently by Mason) from Sept. 8 to Oct. 8; and the date of the year 1751 has been inserted, which is confirmed by the references to Walpole's *Fable* and *Memoirs* (see nn. 3, 4).

176. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I ASK your Pardon for not having immediately informed you, that I received the Parcel very safe; but I was in Huntingdonshire, when it arrived, & did not return hither till Friday Evening. the Sionites[1], I am sorry to say, are just where they were. so is M^r^ Bentley[2], having had cold Water thrown upon him, w^ch^ stunted his Growth. the other I will send you in a few Days, as you desire. I am going to see three of D^r^ M:^s^ little Works, that *were burnt*[3]. Adieu! I am

Ever Yours

TG:

Camb: Sept: 29. Sunday [1751][4]

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: SAFFRON 30
WALDEN SE

LETTER 176.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The point of this allusion to the Sionites (a sect who claimed to be the children of the King of Sion, and who prophesied the immediate approach of the millennium) remains obscure.

[2] Richard Bentley (1708-82), son of the famous scholar of the same name, for many years a friend and correspondent of Horace Walpole, to whom his wit and artistic talents specially recommended him. He was at this time engaged upon the 'designs' for Gray's six poems, for the volume which was published in 1753 (see Letters 175, n. 2; 179, n. 1).

[3] See Letter 175, n. 14.

[4] The date 1751, the year to which this letter obviously belongs (see n. 3), has been inserted in pencil in the original by Mason. On the back of this letter Walpole has jotted in pencil: 'Adm. Vernon who had much more reputation than courage, and far more courage than sense, one shoud have thought his head light enough to have buoyd up his heart in any extremity.'

177. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Tuesday [Nov. 26, 1751] [1] Camb:ge

IF Etoughe[2] had any such Paper trusted to his Hands, I don't at all doubt, but it has been shew'd to some one here. it is about three Weeks ago, that he was here with his Budget of Libels (for it is his constant Practise twice in a year to import a Cargo of Lyes, & scandalous Truths mix'd) but his Confidents are caution'd against me, who have had more Squabbles than one either with him, or about him, so that *directly* it would be impoſsible for me to come at it, or even to hear any of the Contents: but I have a round-about Way, or two in my head: if I succeed, you shall be sure to know immediately; but this will take up a Week, or a Fortnight, for I must not seem too eager about it. I am amazed at the Impudence of the Fiend, (as much a Fiend as I knew him.) you say you took him to task; I am impatient to know in what Manner. for I imagine you sent to him, & that this has given him an Opportunity of writing those impudent Letters you mention to you. there are three Methods of taking him properly to task, the Cudgel, the Blanket, & the Horse-pond. if you are present at the Operation, you may venture to break a Leg or an Arm *en attendant*, & when I see you, I may poſsibly give you some Reasons, why

LETTER 177.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year has been inserted in the original by Mason. This letter evidently refers to the affair of Miss Nicholl, to which Gray reverts in the next letter.

[2] See Letter 168, n. 51.

you ought to have broke t'other Leg & t'other Arm also: for it is too long to stay, till he is a Bishop.

I do not wonder at their Rage venting itself on M^r^ Chute. they think him easier to come at, & more open to Injury: I am glad he hears so little of the Matter. what my insipid L^d^ H:[lon[3] could poke out of his Memory against him, I don't conceive. would to God anything I could do, might make all the World think of him as I do. but the Way you propose, would signify very little. . Adieu, S^r^, I am

Yours ever
TG.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: SAFFRON 27
WALDEN NO

178. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge] Dec: 31 [1751][1]

YOU have probably before now met with the Paper[2] I enclose, itself; tho' when you wrote last, you

[3] This name was written by Gray partly above the line by way of abbreviation; the first part has been blotted out and is now illegible. The name may be Harrington.

LETTER 178.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the reference to the affair of Miss Nicholl. This was briefly as follows: John Chute's friend, Francis Whithed (see Letter 161, n. 3) had been engaged to be married to Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Nicholl, of Minchendon House, Southgate. After Whithed's death in March of this year (1751), Chute endeavoured to bring about a marriage between Miss Nicholl, who was said to have a

had only heard of it from others. it must not be known on any account, that it came from me, for by that means it might be easily discover'd, whom I had it from, w^ch^ might be the Ruin of a Gentleman. I do not see any one End it can answer, but that of putting M^r^ C:[3] in a silly Light to such, as do not know him. the Exactneſs of Dates, Hours, & Minutes with the Obſervation of his different Tones of Voice, betray it to be the Work of a Listener, placed on purpose. I am told, that old H:[4] does not deny his Design of getting her[5] for D: W:[6], after my L^d^ O:[7] had refused her. he insists he was not once at C:^rs^[8] Chambers, while she was in his Hands, & that the Story of the 10,000£ is a manifest Lye. he affects to treat it as a Fact aſserted by M^r^ C:, tho' no such thing appears, even in the Paper itself. I can't find for certain, that Et:[9] (tho he has

fortune of above £150,000 (see Walpole to Mann, 30 May 1751; and *Short Notes* for that year), and Horace Walpole's nephew, the Earl of Orford, who had just succeeded to the title. But the match fell through, owing, as Walpole believed, to the intrigues of his uncle, Horatio Walpole (see n. 8), who tried to secure the lady for one of his own sons. In the event Miss Nicholl married (in 1753) James Brydges, Marquess of Carnarvon, subsequently (1771) third Duke of Chandos, whom she predeceased in 1768.

[2] No doubt that mentioned in the previous letter.

[3] Mr. Chute.

[4] Old Horace, that is, Walpole's uncle, Horatio Walpole (see Letter 169, n. 2).

[5] Miss Nicholl (see n. 1).

[6] Probably Dick Walpole, that is, his third son, Richard, who eventually (1758) married a daughter of Sir Joshua Vanneck, Bart.

[7] Horace Walpole's nephew, the third Earl of Orford (see Letter 174, n. 8).

[8] Presumably, Counsellor's—Walpole suspected his uncle of underhand dealings with his legal advisers in this matter (see letter to Mann, 31 Aug. 1751: 'The affair of Miss Nicoll is blown up by the treachery of my uncle Horace and some lawyers, that I had employed at his recommendation').

[9] Etough (see Letter 177).

been here[10] a second time with his Budget) has given any Copies of this Paper about, yet I do not doubt but He has. this I know; he has shew'd your Letter to him, & his own Answers to a few People here, tho' I have not seen them. I am in hast, but shall write again soon. pray tell me, as soon as you receive this.

179. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Wednesday—[July 8, 1752][1] Stoke.

I AM at present at Stoke, to w^ch^[2] I came at half an Hour's Warning upon the News I received of my Mother's Illnefs, & did not expect to have found her alive: but as I found her much better, & she continues so[3], I shall[4] be very glad to make you a Visit at Strawberry[5], whenever you give me Notice of a convenient time. I am surprized at the Print[6], w^ch far sur-

[10] That is, Cambridge (see Letter 177).

LETTER 179.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part (in a garbled text, and in combination with a portion of another letter—see n. 14) by Mason in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 224–6 (see Letter 28 n.).

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year (which has been inserted by Mason in the original) is determined by the reference to the volume of Gray's poems with the designs of Bentley which was published in the following March (*Designs by Mr. R. Bentley, for Six Poems by Mr. T. Gray*, London, 1753). (See Letter 175, n. 2.) Mason dates the letter Jan. 1753, having apparently taken the IY of the postmark to stand for January (which is IA) instead of July.

[2] Mason: 'to which place'.

[3] Mason: 'but when I arrived she was much better, and continues so'.

[4] Mason: 'I shall therefore'.

[5] Mason: 'at Strawberry-Hill'.

[6] A proof print of the Cul de Lampe, which Mr. Bentley designed for the Elegy in a country church-yard, and which represents a village-funeral; this occasioned the pleasant mistake of his two aunts. *Mason.*—This design, which is placed at the end of the *Elegy*,

paſses my Idea of London Graving. the Drawing itself was so finished, that I suppose, it did not require all the Art I had imagined to copy it tolerably. my Aunts[7] just now, seeing[8] me open your Letter, take[9] it to be a Burying-Ticket enclosed, & ask[10], whether any body has left me a Ring? and so they still conceive it to be, even with all their Spectacles on. heaven forbid they should suspect it to belong to any Verses of mine; they would burn me for a Poet. [11] Mr Bentley (I believe) will catch a better Idea of Stoke-House from any old Barn he sees, than from my Sketch[12]: but I will try my Skill. I forbid no Banes[11]; but am satisfied, if your Design succeed[13] so well as you intend it. and yet I know, it will be accompanied with something not at all agreeable to me[14]. Adieu! I am

Yours ever

TG:[15]

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: 9
IY

and is the last in the book, was engraved by Charles Grignion the elder (1717–1810).

[7] Mrs. Rogers (Ann Antrobus) and Mrs. Olliffe (Jane Antrobus), Mrs. Gray's two surviving sisters, the unmarried sister, Mary Antrobus, having died in November, 1749.

[8] Mason: 'My aunts seeing me'.

[9] Mason: 'took'.

[10] Mason: 'asked'.

[11–11] This passage is omitted by Mason.

[12] This sketch was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842, with a copy of the volume with Bentley's designs, for eight guineas.

[13] Mason: 'On my own part I am satisfied, if this design of yours succeed'.

[14] Mason here inserts: '—While I write this, I receive your second letter—' and then prints as part of this letter a garbled text of Gray's letter of 13 Feb. 1753 (Letter 182).

[15] The conclusion of the letter is omitted by Mason.

180. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Stoke, 1752][1]

YOUR pen was too rapid to mind the common form of a direction, and so, by omitting the words *near Windsor*, your letter has been diverting itself at another Stoke[2], near Ailesbury, and came not to my hands till to-day. The true original chairs were all sold, when the Huntingdons broke[3]; there are nothing now but Halsey-chairs[4], not adapted to the squareneſs of a Gothic[5] dowager's rump. And by the way I do not see how the uneaſineſs and uncomfortableneſs of a coronation-chair can be any objection with you: every chair that is easy is modern, and unknown to our ancestors. As

LETTER 180.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 392–3.

[1] The date is determined by the reference to the *Long Story*, one of the six poems of Gray included in the volume published in March 1753 (see Letter 179, n. 1).

[2] Stoke Mandeville.

[3] Gray is referring to the Manor House at Stoke Poges, the 'ancient pile of building' of the *Long Story*, which, according to Lysons (*Magna Britannia*, vol. i, p. 635), had been built by Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had soon afterwards been seized by the Crown for a debt.

[4] The owner of the Manor House at this time was the Dowager Viscountess Cobham, widow of Sir Richard Temple, Bart., of Stowe, first Viscount Cobham (d. 1749). Lady Cobham (d. 1760) was the daughter (Anne) of Edmund Halsey, of Southwark and Stoke Poges, M.P. for Buckingham, 1717–22 (one of the founders of the famous brewery in Park Street, Southwark, which afterwards passed to the Thrales, and from them to the firm of Barclay and Perkins), who purchased the Manor House about the year 1720 from the Gayer family. Walpole had evidently been asking for details of the furniture at the Manor House for the purposes of Bentley's 'designs' for the *Long Story*, the excellence of which, according to Mason, eventually induced Gray to consent to the poem being printed.

[5] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'of gothic'.

I remember, there were certain low chairs, that looked like ebony, at Esher[6], and were old and pretty. Why should not Mr. Bentley improve upon them?—I do not wonder at Dodsley[7]. You have talked to him of six *odes*, for so you are pleased to call every thing I write, though it be but a receipt to make apple-dumplings. He has reason to gulp when he finds one of them only a long story[8]. I don't know but I may send him very soon (by your hands) an ode to his own tooth, a high Pindarick upon stilts[9], which one must be a better scholar than he is to understand a line of, and the very best scholars will understand but a little matter here and there. It wants but seventeen lines of having an end, I don't say of being finished. As it is so unfortunate to come too late for Mr. Bentley, it may appear in the fourth volume of the Miscellanies[10], provided you don't think it execrable, and suppress it. Pray, when the fine book[11] is to be printed, let me revise the press,

[6] Esher Place, in Surrey, the seat of Henry Pelham.

[7] Robert Dodsley, the publisher of the *Six Poems*.

[8] The *Long Story*, according to a note of Gray in the Pembroke MS. of the poem, was written in August, 1750. It appears that Lady Cobham, then in residence at the Manor House at Stoke Poges, having read and admired the *Elegy*, wished to be acquainted with the author. Accordingly her niece, Miss Speed (see Letter 209, n. 1), and Lady Schaub, then at her house, undertook to bring this about by making Gray the first visit. As he happened to be from home when they called, they left a note, which obliged him to return the visit; and soon after, for the amusement of the ladies in question, he composed the *Long Story* in celebration of the incident. (*Mason.*)

[9] The *Progress of Poesy*, first printed at Strawberry Hill in 1757.

[10] Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (see Letter 175, n. 6).

[11] The edition of his Odes printed at Strawberry-hill. *Berry.* —But this was not printed until 1757. The 'fine book' in ques-

for you know you can't; and there are a few trifles I could wish altered.

I know not what you mean by hours of love, and cherries, and pine-apples. I neither see nor hear anything here, and am of opinion that is the best way. My compliments to Mr. Bentley, if he be with you.

I am yours ever,

T. GRAY.

I desire you would not show that epigram I repeated to you, as mine. I have heard of it twice already as coming from you [12]

181. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Camb:ge Dec: 17. Sunday. [1752] [1]

I SENT to Dodsley some time since, who wrote to me by your order, what little alterations I had to make, & should be glad to know, whether you thought them for the better or the worse. he tells me now, he could finish in a fortnight, if I were in town, but this would be very inconvenient to me at present, so I must

tion is obviously the *Six Poems*, with the designs of Bentley—'the Poemata-Grayo-Bentleiana, or Gray's *Odes*, better illustrated than ever odes were by a Bentley', as Walpole describes them to Montagu (28 Aug. 1752), at which time he speaks of them as 'in great forwardness'.

[12] Miss Berry states that she was unable to discover the epigram alluded to.

LETTER 181.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year (which has been inserted in the original by Mason) is determined by the reference to the volume of *Six Poems* in preparation by Dodsley (see Letter 180).

have the Sheets sent me to correct hither, & I suppose, it may come out in leſs than a Month [2].

* * *
* * * [3]

. . . you may imagine, I do not expect any thing very particular on either of these subjects, but some sort of satisfaction you will easily know how to give me in a letter; as it will be a good while, before I can see you. Adieu, I am ever

Yours
TG.

Have you read Mad: Maintenon's Letters [4]? or the Micromegas [5], or the dull Life of D[r] Tillotson [6]. I have gone thro' the 3[d] Vol: of the Biographia [7], w[ch] will be a great Relief to you after Bayle's [8] pedantic bawdy: all the Lives, mark'd with an E or a C, have something curious in them, those with a G are abominable foolish.

[2] Walpole, writing to Montagu on 28 Aug. 1752, had expressed the hope that the book would appear 'this winter'; as a matter of fact it was not published till March, 1753.

[3] A piece, containing about five lines of text, has here been cut out.

[4] *Les Lettres de Madame de Maintenon* had been published in two volumes by L. A. de la Beaumelle in this year (1752).

[5] A satirical romance by Voltaire published in this year.

[6] By Thomas Birch (1705–66), published in this year.

[7] *Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the most Eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland . . . in the manner of Mr. Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary.* The third volume was published in 1750. The articles are signed C, T, E, G, X, &c.

[8] An English edition of Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (first published in 1696–7) was published by Pierre Desmaizeaux in 1735.

I have just received the first Proofs from Dodsly. I thought it was to be a Q^to^, but it is a little Folio[9]. the Stanzas are number'd, w^ch^ I do not like [10].

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: SAFFRON 18
WALDEN DE

182. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Camb:^ge^ Feb: 13. 1753.

SURE You are not out of your Wits! this I know, if you suffer my Head to be printed[1], you infallibly will[2] put me out of mine. I conjure you immediately to put a stop to any such design. who is at the Expence of engraving it, I know not; but if

[9] As published the volume was a small folio, measuring 15 × 10½ inches, of 45 leaves, the plates and poems printed on one side only.

[10] The numbering of the stanzas was eliminated in deference to Gray's objection.

LETTER 182.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part (in a garbled text, and in combination with part of Letter 179) by Mason in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, pp. 225–6.

[1] Dodsley had proposed to prefix Gray's portrait, engraved from the painting by Eckhardt in Walpole's possession, to the volume containing the *Six Poems* with Bentley's designs (see Letter 183). The plate was actually more than half engraved, but was suppressed in consequence of Gray's protest. (*Mason.*)—A print from the Eckhardt portrait of Gray, engraved by James Heath, was published in the fifth volume of the *Works of Lord Orford* in 1798. A reproduction of the original (now in the National Portrait Gallery) forms the frontispiece to the present volume.

[2] Mason: 'you will infallibly'.

it be Dodsley, I will make up the Loſs to him. the thing, as it was, I know will make me ridiculous enough[3]; but to appear in proper Person at the head of my works, consisting of half a dozen Ballads in 30 Pages, would be worse than the Pillory. I do aſsure you, if I had received such a Book with such a frontispice without any warning, I believe, it would have given me a Palsy. therefore I rejoice to have received this Notice; & shall not be easy, till you tell me all thoughts of it are laid aside. I am extremely in earnest, & can't[4] bear even the Idea!

I had wrote to Dodsley to tell him[5], how little I liked the Title he had prefix'd[6], but your letter has put all that out of my Head. if you think it neceſsary to print these Explanations[7] for the use of People that have no eyes, I could[8] be glad, they were a little alter'd. I am to my shame in your debt for a long letter, but I can not think of any thing else, till you have set me at ease[9]. Adieu, I am

Yours ever,

T: G:[10]

[3] See Gray's letter to Dodsley of Feb. 12.

[4] Mason: 'cannot'.

[5] See n. 3. Mason: 'I had written to Dodsley, if I had not received yours, to tell him'.

[6] Mason: 'the title which he meant to prefix'.

[7] Four pages, containing *Explanation of the Prints* (written by Walpole), are prefixed to the volume as published.

[8] Mason: 'should'.

[9] Mason: 'at ease on this matter'.

[10] The conclusion of the letter is omitted by Mason. There was apparently a postscript in the original which has been torn off.

183. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

Arlington Street Feb. 20. 1753

I AM very sorry that the haste I made to deliver you from your uneasineſs the first moment after I received your Letter, shoud have made me expreſs myself in a manner to have the quite contrary effect from what I intended. You well know how rapidly and carelesly I always write my Letters; the note you mention was written in a still greater hurry than ordinary, & merely to put you out of pain. I had not seen Dodsley, consequently coud only tell you that I did not doubt but he woud have no Objection to satisfy you, as you was willing to prevent his being a Loser by the plate[1]. Now, from this declaration how is it poſsible for you to have for one moment put such a construction upon my words, as woud have been a downright stupid brutality, unprovoked? It is impoſsible for me to recollect my very expreſsion, but I am confident that I have repeated the whole substance.

How the bookseller woud be leſs a Loser by being at more expense, I can easily explain to you: He feared the price of half a guinea woud seem too high to most purchasers; if by the expence of ten guineas more he coud make the book appear so much more rich & showy (as I beleive I said)[2] as to induce people to think it cheap, the profits from selling many more copies woud amply recompense him for his additional disbursement.

LETTER 183.—First printed by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford* (vol. v, pp. 353–5); now reprinted from original in Waller Collection.

[1] See Letter 182, n. 1.

[2] Miss Berry omits this parenthesis.

The thought of having the head engraved was entirely Dodsley's own, & against my opinion, as I concluded it woud be against yours, which made me determine to acquaint you with it before it's appearance.

When you reflect on what I have said now, you will see very clearly, that I had & coud have no other posſible meaning in what I wrote last. you might justly have accused me of neglect, if I had deferr'd giving you all the satisfaction in my power, as soon as ever I knew your uneasineſs.

The Head I give up. The Title I think will be wrong, & not answer your purpose, for, as the Drawings are evidently calculated for the poems, why will the improper disposition of the Word *Designs* before *Poems*, make the Edition leſs yours? I am as little convinced that there is any affectation in leaving out the *M^r* before your Names[3]; it is a barbarous addition; the other is simple & claſsic, a rank I cannot help thinking due to both the Poet and Painter. Without ranging myself among Claſsics, I aſsure you, were I to print any thing with my name, it shoud be plain Horace Walpole: *M^r* is one of the Gothicisms I abominate. The Explanation[4] was certainly added for people who have not Eyes —such are almost all who have seen M^r Bentley's drawings, & think to compliment him by mistaking them for prints. Alas! the generality want as much to have the words *a Man, a Cock,* written under his drawings, as

[3] Gray's view ultimately prevailed with regard to the title; the volume was published as *Designs of Mr. R. Bentley for Six Poems by Mr. T. Gray*, which, with the alteration of one word ('by Mr. Gray' for 'of'), was the title Gray had dictated to Dodsley in his letter of Feb. 12.

[4] See Letter 182, n. 7.

under the most execrable hieroglyphics of Egypt or of sign post painters!

I will say no more now, but that you must not wonder if I am partial to you & yours, when you can write as you do & yet feel so little Vanity. I have used freedoms enough with your writings to convince you I speak truth: I praise & scold M^r^ Bentley immoderately as I think he draws well or ill; I never think it worth my while to do either, especially to blame, where there are not generally vast Excellencies. goodnight—dont suspect me when I have no fault but impatience to make you easy.

Yrs ever,
HW.

184. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Stoke. Feb: 27 [1753][1]

I AM obliged on the sudden to come hither to see my poor mother who is in a condition between Life & Death, tho' (I think) much nearer the latter[2]. yet I could not help telling you, I had received your Letter, & am pleased to find, I was in the wrong. you may be sure, I was not willing to think you so. do what you please about the title[3], if it is time; but it

LETTER 184.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the reference to the title of the volume of Gray's *Six Poems* discussed in the previous letter (see n. 3).

[2] Mrs. Gray died shortly after, on 11 March 1753, aged 67. She was buried in the churchyard at Stoke Poges in the same tomb in which her sister Mary Antrobus had been laid in 1749, and in which Gray himself was laid eighteen years later.

[3] See Letter 183, n. 3.

seems to me the leſs of Puff or Ostentation it has, the better it will be, even for Dodsley. excuse my brevity, Adieu, I am ever

Yours
TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
,, London

Postmark: I
MR

185. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Friday [Feb. 15. 1754][1] . . . Cambridge

Dear S^r^

I SEND you my Story[2], that you may not wait longer for it, tho' it does not at all satisfy me, but I do not know how to make it intelligible in fewer words.

Bianca Capello[3],

Veneta, adolescenti nupsit nobili Florentino, quem ideó

Letter 185.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date has been inserted in the original by Walpole; that of the month is supplied by the postmark, that of the year by the reference to the next letter (see n. 6), which is dated in full.

[2] Walpole had asked Gray to supply him with a brief account in Latin of Bianca Capello, for his picture of her by Vasari (see his letter to Mann of 28 Jan. 1754), which in the *Description of Strawberry Hill* is said to have been 'bought out of the Vitelli palace at Florence by sir Horace Mann, and sent to Mr Walpole' (*Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, p. 469). Bianca's story, 'written in a cartouche on the frame', is there given in English, which, however, is obviously based on the Latin version supplied by Gray in this letter.

[3] A Venetian (d. 1587), who was first the mistress, and subsequently the wife, of the Grand-Duke Francis I of Tuscany.

a patre domo expulsum uxor suâ operâ [4] diú sustentabat, donec Franciscus Mediceus M: Hetruriæ Dux, mulieris formâ captus eam in aulam perduxit, maritum ad summos honores extulit, qui potestate insolentér usus cum sæpe in crimina incurriſset, sæpé conjugis gratiâ (quam tamén asperiús tractaverat) supplicium effugiſset, noviſsimé suâ manu hominem confodit. Biancâ Ducis clementiam implorante, juravit Franc:cus se de marito pœnas non sumpturum, sed nec de illis, qui eum ipsum occidiſsent. quo audito, vir ab inimicis interfectus est. viduam Franciscus justum in matrimonium duxit. hos ambos uno in convivio Ferdinandus Cardinalis, Fr:ci frater, veneno sustulit, ipse deinceps Hetruriæ Dux, cognomento Maximus.

I am collecting what I can about the two Marriages [5] & will send it you next week [6], tho' I find the Chronicles of latter times do little more than copy Fabian [7]. they are excellent writers, & I thank you for bringing us acquainted. I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole Esq in
Arlington Street
London

Postmark: ROYS 16
TON FE

[4] Gray wrote first, 'suis laboribus'.

[5] Of Henry VI and Henry VII (see next letter).

[6] Actually, in the letter of March 3.

[7] Robert Fabyan (d. 1513), author of a Chronicle from the time of the arrival of Brutus in England down to the death of Henry VII.

186. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge] March 3d 1754.

YOU are to dispatch forthwith an Expreſs to Angers to fetch the windows of St Bonaventure's Chappel in the Church of the Cordeliers there; in them are painted Margaret of Anjou herself kneeling; her Mother Isabella, Dutcheſs of Lorraine, first Wife of René, K: of Sicily; Joan de la Val, his second wife; Yolande, his eldest daughter, also Dſs of Lorraine; & John, Duke of Calabria, his eldest Son. these are not mobbled Queens [1] upon a tomb, but fair & flourishing figures with entire faces: the hair of the four Women is dishevel'd below their girdle, wch one would think was a fashion peculiar to them, for no other cotemporary Lady have I ever seen, that did not wear hers truſsed up & plaited, or quite hid. to stay your stomach till the return of the Courier, you may see them all in Montfaucon's Antiquities, (Tom: 3. Plates 47, & 63.) I think you have the Book, & pray observe, if the Mother does not resemble that figure in the Picture [2] with the large sleeves & hair at length

LETTER 186.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection. On the original has been written in pencil, 'Containing large quotations relative to the subject of the historic doubts'; but this is an error, for Walpole did not begin his *Historic Doubts on Richard the Third* until the winter of 1767 (see *Short Notes*, under 1 Feb. 1768). The extracts in fact relate to the marriages of Henry VI and Henry VII, about which Walpole was anxious for information in order to identify the personages in two pictures of these subjects which he had recently acquired (see nn. 2, 20).

[1] *Hamlet*, ii. 2.

[2] This was 'an ancient and valuable piece, representing the marriage of Henry VI', which

on the foreground. now for the time, place, & circumstances of the marriage, here begins Wyllyam Wyrcester[3] (p. 462.) 'A: D: 1444, & anno Regis 'Hen: 6ti 23o, Rex accepit in uxorem dominam juvenem, 'filiam Regis Neapolis, Ceciliæ, & Jerusalem, quæ de- 'sponsata erat in abbaciâ de Tycchefield in Comitatu 'Suthampton . . A: D: 1445. Coronacio uxoris Henr: '6ti apud Westmonast:m 30mo Maii. next comes Mr Alderman Fabian[4]. 'A: D: 1444. the Marquefs of 'Suffolke soon after with his wyfe & other honourable 'Personages as well of men as of women with great 'Apparayll of chayris and other costious ordenaunce 'for to convey the forenamed Lady Margerete into 'Englande sayled into Fraunce, & so tarryed there all 'this Mayres year . . A: D: 1445. This 23d Year (of 'Henry 6th) & monthe of . . . the foresayd Lady 'Margerete came over into Englande, & in the monthe 'of . . . following she was maryed at a towne called 'Southwyke in the countre of Hamshyre, and from 'thence she was convey'd by the Lordes & Estates 'of this Lande, wch mette with her in sundry places 'with great retynewe of men in sundry Lyveryes with 'their slevys browderyd & some betyn with gold- 'smythe's werkes in most costly maner, & specyally '(of) the D: of Glouceter mette with her with 500 'Men in one lyverye, & so was convey'd unto Black-

afterwards hung 'over the chimney' in the Library at Strawberry Hill. This picture is figured and described in the second chapter of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (see *Work of Lord Orford*, vol. iii, pp. 37–9).

[3] William of Wyrcester or Worcester (*c.* 1415–82), author of *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*.

[4] See Letter 185, n. 7.

'hethe, where upon the 18th of Maye she was mette 'with the Mayer, Ald:n & Sheryffes of the Citie & the 'Craftes of the same in *Browne* blew with brawderyd 'slevys, that is to meane, every maister or crafte with 'the conysaunce of his *maister* (read, *mystery*) & red 'hoodes upon eyther of their heddes, and so the same 'day brought her unto London, where for her were 'ordeyned sumptuous & costly Pagentes, & resem-'blaunce of dyverse old hystories to the great comfort 'of her & such as came with her—& so with great 'triumphe she was brought unto Westminstre, where 'upon the 30th of May, the day after Trinitie Sonday 'she was solemply crowned. (fol: 199.) As to Grafton[5], Hall[6], Speed[7], Hollingshed[8], & other Chroniclers of Q: Eliz:s time I transcribe nothing from them, because they add nothing new to Fabian's account, indeed only copy him, or one another: Stow[9] only, as he is more particular, I shall make use of. 'This noble Company (Ld Suffolk, & others not named) 'came to the City of Towers in Touraine, where they 'were honourably received & entertain'd both of the 'French King & Duke Reiner, where the Marquefs 'of Suffolke, as Procurator to K: Henry, espoused the 'said Lady in the Church of St Martin. at wch marriage

[5] Richard Grafton (d. *c.* 1572), author of an *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (1562), and of a *Chronicle at Large* (1568).

[6] Edward Hall (d. 1547), author of the *Union of the Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York* (1542).

[7] John Speed (*c.* 1552–1629), author of the *History of Great Britaine* (1611).

[8] Raphael Holinshed (d. *c.* 1580), author of *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1578).

[9] John Stow (*c.* 1525–1605), author of a *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565), and of the *Chronicles of England* (1580).

'were present the Father & Mother of the Bride, the 'French King who was [10] Uncle to Duke Reiner, & 'the French Queen [11] Aunt to the Dutchess his Wife. 'also the Dukes of Orleans [12], of Calabre [13], of Alanson [14] '& of Brytaine [15], 7 Earls, 12 Barons, 20 Bishops, 'besides Knights & Gentlemen, when the feast, 'triumphs, banquets, & justs were ended, the Lady 'was deliver'd to y^e^ Marques of Suffolk, w^ch^ in great 'estate conveied her thorow Normandy unto Diepe, 'where awhile they remained. the Lady, being trans- 'ported from Diepe, landed at Portchester, from whence 'she was conveyed by water to Hampton, & rested 'there in a place call'd Gods-House [16]; from thence 'she went to Southwicke [17], & was married to the 'King in the Abbey of Tichfield [18] on the 22^d^ of 'April &c:

Now you are to determine whether the Picture represent the marriage at Tours, (w^ch^ may be; & yet Henry 6^th^ may be introduced, tho' not there in per-

[10] This is a mistake: he was indeed Uncle to K: Henry 6^th^, but Cousin only to René, K: of Sicily, &c. *Gray.*

[11] Another mistake. she was René's own Sister, & Aunt to the Bride. *Gray.*

[12] Charles, who had been prisoner 25 years in England, & return'd home about four years before this marriage. *Gray.*

[13] Brother to the Bride. *Gray.*

[14] John, the 2^d^ of the name. *Gray.*

[15] Francis, first of the name. he had married Margaret's Aunt. *Gray.*

[16] An Hospital for poor folkes at Southampton. (Leland. V: 3. p. 92). *Gray.*

[17] It is a good big thoroughfare, but no celebrate market. the fame of it stood by the Priory of the black Chanons there, & a pilgrimage to our Lady. (Leland. ib: p. 98). *Gray.*

[18] It was a monastery of Premontrés, founded by Henry 3^d^, given at the reformation to Mr Wriothesley, who pull'd it down, & built a right stately house there. (Leland, p. 95). *Gray.*

son). this must be the case, if one of those women be the Queen of Sicily, for neither she, nor any of the family accompanied Margaret to England. they took leave of her at Bar-le-Duc with abundance of tears, & at Rouen she was consign'd to her English attendants, who made their entry with great pomp into that city. I can tell you exactly, who they were, & what they did there. shall I? if it is nothing to your purpose, you may pass it over.

'Le Roy Henry envoya plusieurs Seigneurs & Dames 'de son pays au dit lieu de Rouën fort hautement '& richement habilléz, c'est a scavoir le Duc d'Jorcq, 'le Comte de Suffort, le Seigneur de Tallebot, le 'Marquis de Susalby, (Salisbury) le Seigneur de Clif '(L^d^ Clifford) le Baron de Gruisot, Messires Jamet 'd'Ormont, Jean Bolledit, Guil: Bonnechille, Rich: 'Rios, Jean Secalay, Ed: Hoult, Rob: de Willeby, 'Rob: de Harcourt, & plusieurs autres Chevaliers & 'Ecuyers de grand etat. au regard des Dames y estoient 'la Comtesse de Suffort, la Dame de Talbot, la Dame 'de Salsebery, la Dame Marguerite Hoult, & autres 'en grand nombre. il y avoit aussi des chariots cou-'verts & plusieurs haquenées houssées de si riches 'habillemens, que peu avoient eté veus de pareils, 'venans du susdit royaume d'Angleterre; sur tout 'a leur entrée de Rouën, ou ils pouvoient bien etre '1500 chevaux. or faut il declarer la maniere com-'ment les Seign:^rs^ & Dames devant dits & leurs gens 'entrerent en bel ordre en ladite ville. premierement 'pour l'Estat de la Reyne y estoient les premiers 'entrans les dessus nommez (here he names all the

'Men again, but the 3 first) & avec eux Meſsire Huy
'Coquesin, lesquels tous en leur compagnie avoient
'quelque 400 Archers pour l'estat de la maison d'icelle
'Reyne, tous vestus d'une meme parure de gris. aprés
'lesquels suivoient les Ecuyers & Officiers d'icelui
'Estat; & outre ce il y avoit avec les deſsusdits 200
'Archers de la grande Garde du Roi d'Angleterre,
'portans ses couleurs & livrées, c'est a scavoir, sur
'chacune de leurs manches une couronne d'or, lesquels
'estoient trés richement habillez: aprés les Chevaliers
'deſsusdits venoient 6 Pages montéz sur six haquenées,
'richement vestus de robes & de chaperons noirs,
'chargez d'orfevrerie d'argent doré, qui estoient tous
'fils de Chevaliers; & menoit le premier Page par la
'main une haquenée de son costé dextre, que ledit
'Roy d'Anglet:e envoyoit a la Reyne sa femme, ornée
'd'une selle & de paremens, tels que le tout en estoit
'de fin or, & les paremens des autres haquenées estoient
'tous d'argent doré. aprés suivoit le chariot, que le
'dit Roy lui envoyoit, lequel estoit le plus richement
'orné & paré que depuis trés long tems il n'en estoit
'party du Royaume d'Ang:re un pareil; car il estoit
'couvert d'un trés riche drap d'or, & armoyé des
'armes de France & d'Angleterre: lequel chariot estoit
'tiré par 6 chevaux blancs de grand prix, & estoit
'icelui chariot figuré par dedans & dehors de plusieurs
'& diverses couleurs, dans lequel estoient la Comteſse
'de Suffort, les Dames de Talbot, & de Salsebery,
'& estoit ladite Comteſse en l'estat de la Reyne pareil
'au jour qu'elle espousa. les autres dames ensuivans
'de degré en degré venoient aprés ce chariot montées

'sur haquenées. au plus prés d'icelui chariot estoit 'le Duc d'Jorcq d'un costé, & le S^gr de Talbot de 'l'autre, tenant maniere et contenance, comme si la 'Reyne eust eté dedans. le Comte de Suffort alloit 'chevauchant devant le chariot representant la personne 'du Roy d'Ang:^re, & aprés luy il y avoit 36 tant 'chevaux qu'haquenées de grand parage, tous houſséz 'de vermeil armoyé de ses armes. aprés icelui chariot 'il y avoit encore 5 chevaux richement ornéz, dont '2 estoient couverts de velours vermeil battu à or, 'seméz de roses d'or dedans, & les autres estoient 'couverts de drap de damas cramoisy. aprés tout ce 'que dit est, venoit encore un chariot richement orné, 'dedans lequel estoient la Dame de Talbot la jeune, 'la Dame Marg:^e Hoult, & autres, lesquelles estoient 'toutes ordonnées & destinées pour recevoir icelle 'nouvelle Reyne d'Angleterre. (Matth:^u de Coucy; a Cotemp:^ry p. 553).

Out of these, if the Scene of the Picture lies in England, you may pick & chuse; for it is likely they all waited upon her to Southwick. I am sorry Duke Humphrey could not be there, but you see he did not meet her till after the marriage in her way to London. much leſs could his Wife Jaqueline appear, as that marriage was set aside 18 years before: indeed his Dutcheſs Eleanor Cobham was now in prison, & had been so (in spite of Shakespear[19]) 3 or 4 years, before Margaret came over. the Cardinal Beaufort, then at least 70 years old, one would think should have the honour of joining their hands, especially in

[19] *2 Henry VI*, ii. 3.

his own Diocese; but I recollect no marks of a Cardinal, & what I take for the Pallium, w^ch^ he holds over their hands, is (I believe) peculiar to Archbishops: so it may be John Stafford, Archb:^p^ of Canterbury, who certainly crown'd her the next month. I could tell you many small particulars, as the name of the Ship she came over in, w^ch^ was *Coq Johan de Charburgh*; Thomas Adams, Master. the Ring she was married with, w^ch^ was a *fair Ruby, sometime yeven unto us* (says the King) *by our bel Oncle the Cardinal of Englande, with the w^ch^ we were sacred in the day of our Coronacion at Parys, & w^ch^ was broke, thereof to make another ring for the Quene's wedding.* the Jewels he gave for New-year's gifts before the marriage to the D: of Gloucester, the Cardinal, the D: of Exeter, the Archbishop, Dutchess of Buckingham, Earl of Warwick, &c: the George he wore himself, w^ch^ cost 2000 Marks; *the Puson of Golde, call'd Iklyngton Coler, garnish'd with 4 Rubees, 4 greet Saphurs, 32 greet Perles & 53 other Perles; & the Pectoral of Golde garnished with rubees, perles & diamondes; & also the greet Owche garnished with diamondes, rubees & perles, that cost 2000 Marcs, w^ch^ the Quene wore at the solempnitee of hir Coronation.* if these suit your palate, you may see them all, & many other curious Papers, in Rymer's Fœdera, V: 11. some dated from the Priory of Southwyk, & witness'd by the Marques of Suffolk, the Tresorer of Englande (w^ch^ was S^r^ Ralph Boteler, L^d^ Sudeley,) & the Privy-Seal (Adam Moleyns, Dean of Salisbury, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, & murther'd by the Mob at Southampton).

Now I shall set down the ages of the parties

concern'd. the King was barely 23 years old. (what shall we do with this stubborn date?) the Queen was in her 15th Year. her mother Isabella was probably about 35. René, her father, was 36. (see his picture, when old; done by himself, in Montfaucon). Mary, Q: of France, her aunt, was 40 (see her, ibid: with a very odd face, an odder Coif, & high, but not pointed bonnet, from an original) Charles the 7th of France was 41. (see him in the same plate). John, her brother, D: of Calabria, was about 19. Yolande, her Sister, was not a year older than herself.

There is so particular a description of the dreſses in use about the middle of the 15th Century extant, that (long as it is) I must send it you. 'En ceste année 'delaiſserent les dames & damoiselles les queues a 'porter a leurs robes: & en ce lieu meirent bordures 'a leurs robbes de gris de lestices, de martres, de 'veloux & d'autres choses si larges, comme d'un veloux 'de haut ou plus. & si meirent sur leurs tetes bour-'relets a maniere de bonnet rond, qui s'amenuisoient 'par deſsus de la hauteur de demie aulne, ou de trois 'quartiers de long tels y avoit: & aucunes les portoient 'moindres, & deliez couvrechefs par deſsus pendans 'par derriere jusques a terre, les aucuns & les autres: '& prindrent auſsi a porter leurs ceintures de soye 'plus larges beaucoup qu'elles n'avoient accoutumé & 'de diverses façons; & les ferrures plus somptueuses 'aſsez, & coliers d'or a leurs cols autrement & plus 'cointement beaucoup qu'elles n'avoient accoutumé. 'et en ce temps auſsi les hommes se prindrent a vestir 'plus court, qu'ils n'eurent onques fait; tellement que

'l'on veoit la façon de leurs culs & de leurs genitoires,
'ainsi comme l'en souloit vestir les singes, qui estoit
'chose tres malhonnête & impudique. & si faisoient
'les manches fendre de leurs robbes & de leurs pour-
'points pour monstrer leurs chemises deliées, larges,
'& blanches. portoient aufsi leurs cheveux si longs,
'qu'ils leur empêchoient leurs visages, mesmement leurs
'yeux. & sur leurs testes portoient bonnets de drap
'hauts & longs d'un quartier ou plus. portoient aufsi,
'comme tous indifferemment, chaines d'or moult somp-
'tueuses chevaliers & escuyers: les varlets mêmes,
'pourpoints de soye, de satin & de veloux. et presque
'tous, especiallement és cours des Princes, portoient
'poulaines a leurs soulliers d'un quartier de long; et
'á leurs pourpoints gros mahoitres á leurs espaules
'pour monstrer, qu'ils fufsent larges par les espaules;
'qui sont choses moult vaines, & par adventure fort
'haineuses a Dieu. & qui estoit huy court vestu, il
'estoit le lendemain long vestu jusques a terre.

(Monstrelet. V: 3. aprés P: 130).

The Date he afsigns to these new fashions is 1467. yet it is sure the sugar-loaf caps, the long close Hose, & long-pointed shoes, are seen in paintings a good while before. as in Montfaucon, (V: 3. Plate 46.) where one of the Lords has a Hawk on his fist, *marque d'une grande qualité dans ces tems là.* Charles. the 6th used to go to Council, *l'epervier sur le poing.* (ibid: p. 189.) Mary, the Heireſs of Burgundy, is the last Lady with a high Cap that I meet with. she died 1481, & from what I recollect of the dreſses in your picture, they are all older than that date, for about this

time very different fashions came in. I even believe it was painted soon after 1445, & the Glory about the King's head might be added afterwards; tho' Jo: Blackman, a Carthusian, who has wrote a short account, as an eye-witnefs, of Henry 6th's private Life, treats him already as a sort of Saint. the Pomegranates are only a fashionable Pattern for Embroidery & Brocades about that time. Philip, D: of Burgundy made his entry into Ghent in such a robe, & Charles the 7th into Paris (V: 3. Pl: 39, & 45.) &c:

This is what I have yet met with to your purpose at all, tho', perhaps little to your satisfaction, with regard to that picture. now for the other[20], I must tell you my disappointment, wch has been the reason why I have made you & *the world* wait so long for this first volume of my Antiquities. a Senior-Fellow of Trinity, I was told, had got a Mfs, in wch were painted Henry 7th, & many of his court: he was absent, & I have stayed with impatience for a sight of it: I have now met with him, but the painting is at his living in Cheshire. it is not a Mfs, but a Roll of Vellom, as long as the Room (he says) in wch are represented that King and all his Lords going to Parliament. this must be a great curiosity, but we are not like to be the better for it. another disappointment! in reading Thomas of Otterbourne's[21] Chronicle I found mention

[20] The 'Marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York; by Mabeuse', which afterwards hung at the east end of the Gallery at Strawberry Hill. The picture is figured and described in the third chapter of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (see *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iii, pp. 50–1).

[21] Thomas Otterbourne (fl. 1400), author of a Chronicle extending to 1420, which was printed by Hearne in 1732.

of a Sainte-Ampoule kept in Westm:r Abbey. he speaks of Henry 4th's being inunctus. sancto oleo, quod S: *Thomæ* martyri dedit beatiſs:a Virgo, Maria in exilio ejus. this seem'd to account for S: Thomas' attending Elizabeth of York as the future anointed Queen of England. but alas! on second thoughts these words must mean S: Thomas Becket.

Immediately after the Battle of Bosworth, Aug: 22, 1485, the King sent Sr Rob: Willoughby to the Castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire with orders to conduct the Princeſs Eliz:th to her Mother at London. he himself enter'd the City 5 days after; was crown'd, Oct: 30, by Cardl Tho: Bourchier, Archbp of Canterbury, & married Jan: 18, 1486, at Westminster, being then in his 31st year, & Elizabeth turn'd of 20. he (you see) is in his kingly ornaments; but he would not suffer her to be crown'd till almost two years after, when she had brought him a Son. if you are sure the Person who accompanies the King is a Cardinal, it must be Bourchier, who died very soon after this marriage, for the Writ, de custodiâ commiſsâ to Jo: Morton, Bp of Ely, who succeeded him, is dated July 13. 1486. Bourchier was not Legate de latere, but perhaps may bear the Legatine double-Croſs as Archb: of Canterbury; for both our Archbishops were styled *Apostolicæ Sedis Legati* (see Rymer. V: 12. p. 208 & 245.) but I take the Person there represented to be James, Bishop of Imola, who granted the Dispensation for this marriage (they being in the 4th degree of Consanguinity to one another) & was then *Orator & Commiſsarius cum potestate Legati de latere in regnis Angliæ et*

Scotiæ. (see the Bull, in Rymer, V: 12. p. 213.) and somewhere, tho' I can not turn to the place, I found the King returning the Pope thanks for honouring the solemnity with the presence of his *Ambaſsador.* 'tis true, this Legate was no Cardinal, but (I believe) as Legate he might wear the Purple: tho' I am not sure, his dreſs is any thing more, than a D^r^ in Divinity's scarlet robe, & the hood, as usual, lined with Meniver. it is certain, there is no hat, tho' this was the distinction of a Cardinal long before these times.

This is all at present compyled by the paynful hand & symple engyne of your honour's pour bedesman

T: G:

My Love to M^r^ C:[22], pray tell me about him, & about the Vine. I have not found his Dugdale[23] yet; it is not in Emanuel, nor the Publick Library.

187. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge, March 17, 1754][1]

DEAR S^r^

I DO not at all wonder at you for being more curious about an interesting point of modern history[2], than

[22] Mr. Chute.

[23] See Letter 188, n. 2.

LETTER 187.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year by the reference in the letter to the current year.

[2] Henry Pelham (see Letter 107, n. 5), the Prime Minister, died on March 6, and a new administration was in course of formation under his brother, the Duke of Newcastle. At the ensuing General Election Walpole was elected (April 20) M.P. for Castle Rising.

a matter that happen'd 300 years ago [3]. but why should you look upon me as so buried in the dust of an old Chronicle, that I do not care what happens in George, 2[d]'s, reign? I am still alive (I'd have you to know) & tho' these events are indeed only subjects of speculation to me, feel some difference still between the present & the past. you are desired therefore to look in the annals of Strawberry, March ... 1754. & when you can find time, please to transcribe me a little paragraph or two; that when I come, like the rest of my brethren here, to ask for some little thing, I may know at least, what door to knock at. Adieu, I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon[ble] Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: SAFFRON 18
WALDEN MR

188. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Camb:[ge] April 11. 1754.

Dear S[r]

I AM very glad my objections serve only to strengthen your first opinion about the subject of your picture [1]: if I casually meet with any thing more, I shall send it you. the reason I trouble you at present is to tell you, that I have got into my hands the Dugdale M[r] Chute

[3] The marriage of Henry VI (1445), discussed in the previous letter.

Letter 188.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] See Letter 186, n. 2.

enquired after[2]. a great number of the arms are blazon'd in the margin, not very neatly, but (I suppose) they are authentic; tho' in it I find written in an old hand

This volume no Errata's has;
The Whole may for Errata's paſs.
If to correct them you intend,
You'll find it labour without end.
'Tis therefore better let them goe.
God only 'tis knows, who gets who.

Whether this is wit only, or a censure upon Dugdale's work, or upon the Heraldry added to it, I leave you to judge. the arms were done by a Sergeant-Surgeon to K: Charles 2d, who made this art his particular Study, & the book belongs to Caius-College[3]. you are desired to send your queries forthwith, for I can not keep it a great while.

I return you thanks for the civilities you have shew'd Mason[4], who is here, & speaks much of your politeneſs to him. Adieu, I am

Ever Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: CAM BRIDGE 12 AP

[2] See Letter 186 (postscript). The work in question was Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, London, 1676, 2 vols. fol.

[3] This copy of Dugdale is still preserved in the Library of Caius College. The arms are painted by hand on the margins, in some cases 'not very neatly'. The verses quoted by Gray (who has not transcribed them quite accurately) are written on the reverse of the leaf, in the second volume, bearing the dedication to Charles II. (From information kindly supplied by Rev. G. A. Schneider, Librarian of Caius College.)

[4] See Letter 168, n. 33.

189. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

My dear Sr

I HAVE scarce time to thank you for your kindneſs in immediately telling me the unexpected good news[1]. I must trouble you to send this[2] to the Vine, as I do not rightly know the direction. Adieu, I am

Ever Yours

TG:

May 23. [1754][3] Cambridge

190. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

The Vine. Tuesday. July 22. [1755][1]

Dear Sr

I SHALL be very sorry, if I have been the occasiō[2] of interrupting any party or design of yours. when Mr C:[3] thought to carry me to the Vine, I was hardly

Letter 189.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The news that John Chute (see Letter 133, n. 7) had succeeded to the family estates on the death (20 May 1754) of his brother Antony, who had been expected to disinherit him (see Walpole to Chute, 21 May; and to Mann, 23 May, 1754).

[2] Evidently an enclosure for John Chute, who now became owner of the Vine, the family seat in Hampshire.

[3] The date of the year is determined by the reference to Chute (see n. 1).

Letter 190.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year is determined by Gray's letter to Wharton from Stoke of 6 Aug. 1755, in which he speaks of being 'just returned from my Hampshire expedition'; where Mitford notes: 'Mr. Gray went on the 15th of July, to Mr. Chute's at the Vine, from thence he went to Portsmouth, and returned to Stoke on the 31st of July, as appears by a journal which he kept.'

[2]. So in MS.; Gray not having left himself room for the *n* at the end of the line, made use of this sign of abbreviation, common in mediaeval MSS., to indicate the missing letter.

[3] Mr. Chute.

recover'd from a fit of the Gout, & was obliged to delay my journey thither till the week afterwards; and the uncertainty of my own motions has made me defer answering your meſsage without reflecting, that it might be troublesome to you. my intention is to wait upon you tomorrow se'nnight at Strawberry: if you go to Col. Conway's [4], or have any other design, that makes mine inconvenient to you at present, be so good to let me know, at this place, where I shall stay till the end of this week. we return'd yesterday night from Portsmouth [5], Southampton, & Winchester. I leave to Mr Ch: (who will write next post) to display to you all the beauties of Netley-Abbey. the two Views [6] of this House go on apace, & grow every day under our eyes. Adieu, I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: BASING 23
STOKE[7] IY

[4] At Park Place, near Henley, which Conway had purchased three years before.

[5] See n. 1.

[6] Probably by Müntz (a Swiss artist employed by Walpole) (see Letter 199, n. 5), who was now at the Vine (see Walpole to Bentley, 4 Aug. 1755). A view of the Vine by Müntz hung 'over the chimney' in Walpole's bedchamber at Strawberry Hill (see *Description of Strawberry Hill*, in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, p. 452).

[7] The stamp was not inked, but the impress is legible.

191. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Aug: 8. Stoke 1755.

I INTEND to be at Strawberry on Monday before dinner. but as Saints have the Diabetes [1], you will not wonder if a miserable Sinner can not answer a day beforehand for his own constitution. seriously it has not been fair weather within me, eversince I came into this country. at M^r^ Chute's I was not quite right; & since my return, particularly this morning, I am sensible of a feverish disposition, & little wandering pains, that may fix into the Gout, & confine me again. if so, you will excuse the caprices of my distemper, & conclude, that it came upon me too suddenly for me to give you notice in time. I am

Yours ever

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: 9 AV

192. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Aug: 10. 1755. Stoke.

AS they have order'd me to bleed presently, I write to you, while I can make use of my arm, to desire

LETTER 191.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Walpole had evidently repeated to Gray a *mot* which appears in his letter to Bentley from Strawberry Hill of Aug. 4: 'We have been exceedingly troubled for some time with St. Swithin's diabetes, and have not a dry thread in any walk about us.'

LETTER 192.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

you would excuse me. I have had advice, as they call it, & am still as uncertain as ever, whether I am to expect the Gout or Rheumatism. one thing is certain, that I am to expect medecines enough; & as I do not think it civil to bring an Apothecary's shop [1] to Strawberry, & am told besides, that it is not very safe, I hope you will forgive

Yours ever

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: 11
AV

193. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Stoke. Aug. 14. 1755.

WHEN you name a Fever & Rash in the middle of August [1], I can not but enquire (as soon as I am able [2]) what you are doing to get rid of them, & how you are, since I heard from you. I do not at all expect an answer from yourself; but should be much

[1] In a letter to Chute of August 14, Gray writes: 'I have had *advice* and been bloodied, and taken draughts of Salt of Wormwood, Lemons, Tincture of Guiacum, Magnesia, and the Devil.' (See also his letter to Wharton of August 21.)

LETTER 193.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] 'M^r^ W. sent a messenger from London, to say that he was very ill of a fever and rash, and unable to go himself to Twickenham' (Gray to Chute, Aug. 14).

[2] He had been 'bloodied' a day

obliged to you, if you would order Harry[3] or Louis[4] to write me a line of information. I myself am a little better & a little worse for my *advice*. the heats I felt in a morning are abated, if not gone; and in their room I have got the head-ach, w^ch^ with me is a very unusual thing. Adieu! I hope to hear a better account of you. I am ever

Yours
TG:

If you easily get rid of your fever; pray, do not think of going so soon near the coast of Eſsex[5].

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole Esq
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: 15 AV

or two before, when '10 or 11 oz of blood' had been taken from his arm (see letter to Wharton of Aug. 21).

[3] Walpole's valet (Henry Jones).

[4] A Swiss servant of Walpole's; he died of drink in 1767 (see Walpole to Montagu, 14 Oct. 1760; 8 April 1763; 13 Jan. 1767).

[5] Walpole writes to Bentley on Aug. 15: 'I am going to M^r^ Rigby's for a week or ten days'; that is, to Mistley Hall, near Manningtree, in Essex. 'The house stands on a high hill, on an arm of the sea, which winds itself before two sides of the house' (Walpole to Montagu, 25 June 1745).

194. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Stoke][1], Oct: 14. 1755.

I DO not think of leaving this place till about a fortnight hence, & as I doubt if you will continue at Twickenham so late in the year, shall then call upon you at your house in Town. I heartily pity poor G: Montagu[2], who never was made for solitude, & who begins to feel it at a time of life, when every body grows unfit for it. pray tell Mr Chute, I have been tolerably well[3], eversince I saw him. I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole[4]
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: 15
OC

LETTER 194.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] See n. 3.

[2] Montagu had just lost his sister, Miss Harriet Montagu, who lived with him at Greatworth, in Northamptonshire (see Walpole to Montagu, 7 Oct. 1755).

[3] Writing to Chute on Oct. 20, Walpole says: 'I had a note from Gray, who is still at Stoke; and he desires I would tell you that he has continued pretty well'.

[4] It will be noted that from now on Gray adopts the modern usage, and addresses Walpole as 'Honble' without 'Esq.'

195. WALPOLE TO GRAY[1]

ADVICE OF Dr OLIVER[2] TO Sr JOHN COPE[3] ON HIS GETTING ST ANTONY'S FIRE BY DRINKING THE BATH WATERS OUT OF MISS MOLLY'S HAND.

BY LORD BATH[4].

SEE gentle Cope with gout and love opprest,
Alternate torments raging in his breast,
Tries at his cure, but tampers still in vain;
What leſsens one, augments the other pain.
The charming Nymph, who strives to give relief,
Instead of comfort, heightens all his grief:
For health he drinks, then sighs for love, & cries,
Health's in her hand, destruction in her eyes.
She gives us water, but each touch alas!
The wanton Girl electrifies the glaſs.
To cure the gout, we drink large draughts of Love,
And then, like Ætna, burst in flames above.

LETTER 195.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] This letter and three others from Walpole to Gray (Letters 214, 243, and 248) have been preserved among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection, in a packet endorsed by Horace Walpole: 'Letters from Mr Walpole to Mr Gray. returned by Mr Mason to Mr W. after Mr Gray's death.'

[2] William Oliver (1695–1764), the famous Bath physician, inventor of the well-known 'Bath Oliver' biscuit.

[3] 'Johnnie Cope', the General (d. 1760) who in command of the Royal forces was routed by the Young Pretender at Prestonpans on 21 Sept. 1745.

[4] See n. 10. In the article on Dr. Oliver in the *Dictionary of National Biography* these lines are said to be by him, their attribution to Lord Bath by Horace Walpole having apparently not been known.

The Advice

Sip not, dear Knight, the Daughter's liquid fire,
But take the healing bev'rage from the Sire:
Twill ease thy gout—for Love no cure is known;
The God of physic coud not cure his own.

ON LD DARL——'S[5] BEING MADE JOINT PAYMASTER.

Wonders, Newcastle[6], mark thy ev'ry hour;
But this last Act 's a plenitude of pow'r:
Nought but the force of an almighty reign
Coud make a *Paymaster* of Harry V——.

ON SPLITTING THE PAY OFFICE[7].

Holles[8], not past his childhood yet, retains
The maxims of his Nurse or Tutor's pains:
Thence did the mighty Babe this truth derive,
Two negatives make one affirmative:
But ah! Two Dunces never made a Wit,
Nor can two Darlingtons compose a Pitt[9].

To draw poetry from you, I send you these mediocre verses, the only ones in fashion. the first lines indeed are pretty, when one considers they were writ by a Man

5 Henry Vane (*c.* 1705–58), first Earl of Darlington (1753), was appointed Joint Paymaster of the Forces, with Viscount Dupplin (afterwards eighth Earl of Kinnoul), in this year (1755).

6 Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693–1768), Duke of Newcastle (1715), who became Prime Minister on the death of his brother, Henry Pelham, in the previous year.

7 See n. 5.

8 See n. 6.

9 William Pitt (1708–78), afterwards (1766) first Earl of Chatham, had been Paymaster-General of the Forces from 1746 till November of this year.

of seventy, Lord Bath [10]. the first Epigram was a thought of George Selwyn [11], rhimed; the last is scarce a thought at all.

Ministers, Patriots, Wits, poets, paymasters, all are dispersed & gone out of town. The Changes are made, & all preferments given away [12]: you will be glad to hear that our Colonel Montagu [13] has got a regiment. Lord Waldgrave [14] last night hearing them talk over these histories, said with a melancholy tone, alas! they talk so much of giving places for life, I wish they dont give me mine [15] for life!

Adieu! I expect prodigious interest for my pômes.

yrs ever

HW.

Arlington street
Christmas day 1755.

[10] See n. 4. William Pulteney, Earl of Bath (1742), at this time 71, died in 1764, aged 80.

[11] 'Lord Duplin and Lord Darlington are made joint Paymasters: George Selwyn says, that no act ever showed so much the Duke of Newcastle's absolute power as his being able to make Lord Darlington *a paymaster*' (Walpole to Bentley, 17 Dec. 1755).

[12] See Walpole to Montagu, 20 Dec.; to Mann, 21 Dec., 1755.

[13] Colonel Charles Montagu, George Montagu's brother, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of General Bockland's Regiment in this month. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1755, p. 572.)

[14] James Waldegrave (1715–63), second Earl Waldegrave (1741), who afterwards (1759) married Walpole's niece, Maria Walpole.

[15] Of Governor to the Prince of Wales. *Walpole.* — He was Governor of the Prince (afterwards George III) from 1752 to 1756.

196. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

July 30. Friday, 1756. Stoke.

S^r^

IT is a good number of years since I applied to you on a like occasion[1]. your ready compliance with my desire at that time gives me confidence to do so at present, but how far it is practicable or proper for you to satisfy me in this case I leave entirely to your own judgement.

D^r^ Long[2], the Master of Pembroke Hall, (I am told) is either dying or dead[3]. M^r^ Brown[4], the President[5] & Sen: Fellow, is a Person entirely unknown to the World, whom those few, that know, love & esteem; & to whom I myself have a thousand obligations. his interest in the College is considerable; but as among 11 or 12 Fellows, who elect, there are (you will not doubt) some, that will regard their own interest rather more than his, a word from you to M^r^ F:[6], or the D:

LETTER 196.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Gray is perhaps referring to the affair of the Peterhouse Fellowship election in February, 1746 (see Letter 154, n. 2).

[2] See Letter 61, n. 4.

[3] He did not die until 1770, in his 90th year.

[4] See Letter 50, n. 2.

[5] The title borne by the Vice-Master at Pembroke.

[6] Henry Fox (1705–74), afterwards (1763) first Baron Holland. Fox, with whom Walpole was intimate at this time, was Secretary of State from 25 Nov. 1755 to Oct. 1756 in the Newcastle ministry, and was in alliance with the Duke of Bedford. That Fox (and not William Fraser, or Charles Townshend, as has been suggested—see Tovey's note 10 to Gray's letter to Mason of the same date) is the person in question is proved by the following letter (preserved among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection) from Mason to Walpole (his neighbour in Arlington Street):

of B[d] [7], or any other great Man, may contribute to recommend him, & incline these doubtful People to vote for him. M[r] Mason, who is himself qualified to be Master, & might probably enough succeed, I am fully persuaded (tho' you will think there is not common Sense in the aſsertion) will do every thing to further M[r] Brown's election. he (if you will let him know, when you are at home,) will wait upon you, & give you any neceſsary information. I can answer for M[r] B[s] Principles in Government, as I can for my own, that they are those of every true & rational Whig. perhaps you may hear the contrary said; & I ought not to conceal from you, that he is one of the plainest, worthiest & most honest Men I ever met with, but this ought to be a secret. the Antagonist I apprehend is a M[r] Addison [8], a *Creature* of your Uncle [9] &

'Sir.

I propose to dine at Sion Hill* to morrow & will if possible make you an hours visit in the Evning, when we may talk upon the affair mentiond by Mr Gray, at present I can think of no body on whom the Duke of Bedford or Mr Fox can have any influence except on Mr Delaval, who I fancy is very secure for Mr Brown without it. But I will certainly endeavor to wait upon you to morrow, & in the mean time think of what steps will be best to take, I am Sir with great respect

your most obedient Servant

W Mason.

Arlington Street. Sunday †.'

[7] The Duke of Bedford—John Russell (1710–71), fourth Duke; he had been Secretary of State (1747–51) in the Pelham administration, and in December of this year was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1756–61).

[8] Probably Dr. Leon Addison (M.A. 1723, S.T.P. 1753), Fellow of Pembroke; he had served as senior Proctor in 1736.

[9] Horatio Walpole (see Letter 169, n. 2), 'the old (new) Lord Walpole of Wolterton', as Gray calls him in his letter to Mason of the same date. He had been created Baron Walpole of Wolterton on June 4 of this year.

* Syon Hill, near Isleworth, the residence of Lord Holdernesse, to whom Mason was chaplain.

† That is, Sunday, 1 Aug. 1756.

prefer'd by him (do not think, I say this, to add a spur to you, for I flatter myself, it is not neceſsary) he will have the Bp of Chester's [10] aſsistance, & that of the Heads of Colleges, (who know him for a staunch Man,) & consequently, of the D: of Newc:le [11]. the thing (supposing Dr L: dead) must be decided in 8 or 10 days, I believe. the obligation you will lay upon me by this, will be as great or greater than if I myself were the immediate object of your kindneſs. but I repeat, that You only are to judge, how far it can answer the end I propose. Mason comes to Town from Tunbridge today, & will stay there, I imagine, some days. I am ever

Yours

TG:

When I mention'd the D: of Bd, I forgot that Mr Franklyn [12] may have some weight there. he is a mortal enemy of my Mr Brown [13]

[10] Edmund Keene (1714–81), Bishop of Chester, 1752–71; of Ely, 1771–81; he was Master of Peterhouse, 1748–54; Vice-Chancellor, 1749–50.

[11] The Duke of Newcastle; he was Chancellor of the University (1748–68).

[12] No doubt Thomas Francklin (1721–84), Fellow of Trinity, at this time Professor of Greek (1750–9). He was a protégé of the Duke of Bedford, to whose son, Lord Tavistock, he aspired to be tutor (see Gray to Mason, 23 April 1757). In 1755 he published a panegyric on the Duchess of Bedford, in the form of a tale called *Truth and Falsehood*. Francklin was the author of the review of Gray's *Progress of Poesy* (published in 1757), in the *Critical Review* (iv. 167), in which he made the blunder of mistaking the 'Æolian lyre' of the first line for the instrument known as the harp of Æolus (or Æolian harp) (see Gray to Wharton, 6 Sept. 1757).

[13] On the back of this letter Walpole has written in pencil (doubtless the rough draft of a letter to Fox): 'Great poets have a right to command & none are so much their subjects as great men. I know you think Mr Gr. the greatest poet we have & I

197. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Wednesday. Aug: 4. 1756.
Stoke.

Dear Sr

I SEE & feel the very natural unwillingneſs you must have to apply to those Persons [1] for any thing, that may imply a sort of obligation; & I more strongly see & feel the obligation I have to you for being so ready to conquer that reluctance on my account. I could not at this distance do otherwise than refer you to Mr M: [2] (who, I hope, has seen you) for particulars, wch he is better inform'd of than I am. I have heard since, that Dr L: [3] is alive, & thought to be out of danger; but he is a very old Man, & tho' I am glad to see we may probably spare you this trouble for the present, I can only look upon it as defer'd for a time. Mr Bn [4] so little knew of my intention, that the good Man has wrote to acquaint me of Dr L:s illneſs, & (if I will qualify myself by taking orders, & I know not what) offers me his utmost endeavours to serve me in the same way, & make me *his Master.* you will know before now from Mn [5], whether the Man be dead, or dying, or alive & well at last. my zeal (indeed gratitude) to Mr B: only could have forced me to put

know he thinks you the greatest man we have; judge if you can disobey him.'

Letter 197.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Henry Fox and the Duke of Bedford (see Letter 196, nn. 6, 7).

[2] Mason, to whom Gray had sent full 'particulars' in his letter of July 30.

[3] Long (see Letter 196, n. 3).

[4] Brown (see Letter 196, n. 4).

[5] Mason.

you upon a disagreeable task, & I shall be glad to hear, there is no farther occasion for doing any thing. if you find there is not, you will be so good to mention nothing of what has past, for I am aware too, that my desire to serve him may chance to do hurt; yet was unwilling to omitt any thing, that might posſibly do good.

I put the thing in the strongest light to you (being obliged to be concise) & I don't wonder it appear'd somewhat desperate to your foresight. but in reality M^r B: has a pretty-strong natural interest among his own society, & might posſibly be chose without any *brigue* at all, & spite of opposition. only I would wish to bring it to a certainty. no body calls him Jac:^te [6]; I only mean, in case of disputes he might be call'd that, or something as absurd, for want of other abuse.

I will go to Town on Friday to see poor M^r Ch: [7] & at your return hope to thank you at Strawb^y for your kindneſs. if I made you no excuse before, it was because I thought you might have forgot the occasion of it. I am ever

Yours

TG:

198. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Stoke. Aug: 29. 1756.

NOT exactly knowing the time of your return, I had the day before I received your Letter, accepted

[6] Jacobite.

[7] Chute, who was a martyr to gout.

LETTER 198.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

an invitation from Mr Chute to come to the Vine[1]. he is now actually at Windsor expecting to carry me thither tomorrow & insists upon his priority. as soon as ever I come back I shall send to know, if you are *visible*, & am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: 30
AV

199. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Sept: 8. 1756. the Vine

POOR Mr Chute has now had the Gout for these five days with such a degree of pain & uneasineſs, as he never felt before. whether to attribute it to Dr La Cour's[1] forcing medecines, or to a little cold he got as soon as he came hither, I know not, but for above forty hours it seem'd past all human suffering, &

[1] 'The Vyne is situated three miles north of Basingstoke, about four miles south of the boundary between Hampshire and Berkshire, in the parish of Sherborne St. John.' (*History of the Vyne*, by Chaloner W. Chute, p. 1.)

LETTER 199.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Philip de la Cour (1710–80), called elsewhere by Gray, 'the Jew-Physician' (see letter to Wharton of June, 1760). Walpole in a letter to Chute (6 Feb. 1759) refers to his insistence on the importance of diet as against medicine.

he lay screaming like a Man upon the rack. the torture was so great, that (against my judgement & even his own) he was forced to have recourse to [an][2] infusion of Poppy-heads, w^ch^ Cocchi[3] used to give him, & in [half][2] an hours time was easy, fell into a gentle perspiration, [&][2] slept many hours. this was the night before last, & all yesterday he continued chearful & in spirits. at night (as he expected) the pain returned, not so violent, but in more places, for now it is in one foot, both knees, & one hand, and I hourly dread it will increase again to its former rage. if any thing sudden happen, who can I send to? here is no assistance nearer than a D^r^ Langrish[4] at Winchester, of whom he has no great opinion. as to Lacour he is enraged against him, & looks upon him as the cause of all he suffers. I can not think there is any danger, for tho' with all this he is at times in a high Fever, yet it seems to depend upon the Gout entirely, increasing & abating with the pain. but if anything unexpected happen, here are no body but myself & Muntz[5] in the house, would you advise to send to M^rs^ Pawlet, or to whom? you will oblige me, if you will answer me in a loose paper, for he must see your Letter. it will be a charity too to insert any thing of news, or whatever you please to tell us, for when he gets any respite from pain, he is capable & desirous of entertainment, & talks with an eagerness of spirits, that

[2] MS. torn.

[3] A physician at Florence (see Letter 129, n. 8).

[4] Browne Langrish, M.D., F.R.S. (d. 1759).

[5] John Henry Müntz (d. 1775), a Swiss painter, whom Walpole invited from Jersey on Bentley's recommendation. He was employed for some time at Strawberry Hill, and also at the Vine (see Letter 190, n. 6).

seems to make part of his distemper. pray tell us how Mr Man [6] does. I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: BASING 8
STOKE [7] SE

200. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

The Vine: Sept: 11 [1] [12]. Sunday. [1756] [2]

I HAVE the pleasure to tell you that after repeating once again his infusion of Poppies, wch caused each time an entire ceſsation from pain, & an easy perspiration for near 24 hours, Mr Chute has had no return of his tortures, but for these four days has continued in a very tolerable state, chearful enough & in good spirits in the day-time, his appetite beginning to return, & all last night paſs'd in quiet & natural sleep. but he is (as you may imagine) still nail'd to his bed, & much weaken'd. God knows, when he will be able to get up, or bear any motion, & the least cold, as Autumn is coming on, will certainly bring it all back again. I am quite of your opinion about going to Town, as soon as it is

[6] Sir Horace Mann, English Minister at Florence (see Letter 112, n. 4). Chute had become intimate with him during his long residence abroad.

[7] See Letter 198, n. 1.

LETTER 200.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] A mistake, Sunday was the 12th.

[2] The date of the year has been inserted by Walpole in the original.

posſible; & had of my own accord talk'd about it, but he seems rather set against it: however I hope to prevail. as to the Tracies[3], I think he told me just before this illneſs, that they were all coming, & he had wrote to hinder it on some pretence or other. what you say about Mrs P:[4] is very true. I only mention'd her, because she was more within reach than any body else: but I have now no farther thought of danger.

We are much obliged to you for your News, & hope, when you have leisure, again to hear from you. I am

Yours ever

TG:

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole at
Strawberry-Hill near Twickenham
Middlesex[5]

Postmark: BASING 13
STOKE SE

201. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

The Vine—Sept: [19][1] Sunday. [1756][2]

MR. CHUTE'S proceedings are, as follows. soon after I wrote to you, being very easy, he got up & sate in a chair for two days, where having caught cold, he proceeded to go to bed again. however as he has

[3] The Tracy family were connexions of the Chutes (see Walpole to Chute, 21 May 1754; and to Montagu, same date; see also Letter 162, n. 30).

[4] No doubt the Mrs. Pawlet mentioned in the previous letter.

[5] Gray first wrote Surrey.

LETTER 201.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark.

[2] This letter evidently belongs to the same year as the preceding ones.

felt no great matter of pain, today he is to be seen once more sitting by the fire-side. he won't hear of London, but talks of Bath, so I am easy about it, as that seems full as well. yet I wish, he would hasten his journey. I think of returning in four or five days to Stoke, as he is now no longer alone in the house. we are much obliged to you for your Packets & Newses, particularly for your old News. I, who deal in sequels & second Parts, am anxious to know, what became of my Lady Sundon [3]. whether she sunk into the ground, or flew thro' the window after this thunderclap. Adieu, I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: BASING 20
STOKE SE

202. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

The Vine. Tuesday. [Sept. 21. 1756][1]

IF you continue your intention of coming hither, M^r^ Chute desires, you would give yourself the

[3] Charlotte Dyve (d. 1742), wife of William Clayton, first (and only) Baron Sundon (d. 1752). Lady Sundon, who had been a favourite of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, was Woman of the Bedchamber, and Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline. Walpole had evidently been amusing Chute with an anecdote about her; he relates several to Mann in his letter of 7 Jan. 1742, at the time of her death.

LETTER 202.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year by the preceding letters.

trouble of looking among your prints (of Hollar[2] or others) for an inside-view of S[t] George's Chappel at Windsor, & be so good to bring it with you. I have a notion, there is such a Print in Ashmole's[3] Book of the Garter.

We have been up a second time for two days in our Chair, but are forced to lie in bed again today with the Gout in one ancle, yet with no great pain. I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon[ble] Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: BASING 22
STOKE SE

203. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Friday—morn[g]. March 11. [1757][1]

S[r]

I CALL'D at your door this morning between eleven & twelve, & was told, you were gone out. as I am, while I stay in Town, in the City at a great distance from you, I shall take it as a favour, if you will inform

[2] Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77), engraver, a native of Prague, who came to England in 1635.

[3] Elias Ashmole (1617–92), founder of the Museum which bears his name at Oxford. His *Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter*, published in 1672, contains two plates by Hollar of St. George's Chapel.

LETTER 203.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year has been inserted by Walpole in the original.

me, what day I may find you at home, having a particular reason for desiring to see you. I am

Yours ever

TG.

P: S: Will tomorrow, or Monday-morning suit you? I am at Dr Wharton's[2] in King's-Arms Yard, Coleman Street[3].

Addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street

204. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Stoke, July 11, 1757.

I WILL not give you the trouble of sending your chaise for me. I intend to be with you on Wednesday in the evening. If the press[1] stands still all this time for me, to be sure it is dead in child-bed.

[2] Gray's intimate friend and correspondent, Dr. Thomas Wharton (d. 1794), of Old Park, near Durham, where Gray was a frequent guest. He was a Fellow of Pembroke Hall (M.A. 1741; M.D. 1752), and practised as a physician. His friendship with Gray dated from their undergraduate days at Cambridge, and lasted till Gray's death.

[3] Coleman Street runs from Lothbury to Fore Street, Cripplegate. King's Arms Yard extends from Coleman Street to Tokenhouse Yard (Wheatley's *London*).

LETTER 204.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 397–8.

[1] At Strawberry Hill. In a MS. *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry hill*, in the Waller Collection, Walpole records: '1757. June 25th. The Press was erected. Wm. Robinson, printer.—July 16th. Began to print. The first work was an edition of two new Odes by Mr Gray: one, on the power and progress of Poetry; the other, on the destruction of the Welsh Bards by Edward 1st.—Aug. 3d. 1000 copies of the Odes finished.—8th. 2000* copies published by Dodsley.'

* All the printed accounts of the Strawberry Hill Press say 1,000 copies only were printed. Gray, however, in his letter to James Brown of 25 July 1757, mentions 2,000 copies.

I do not love notes, though you see I had resolved to put two or three[2]. They are signs of weakneſs and obscurity. If a thing cannot be understood without them, it had better be not understood at all. If you will be vulgar, and pronounce it *Lunnun*[3], instead of London, I can't help it. Caradoc[4] I have private reasons against; and besides it is in reality Carādoc[5], and will not stand in the verse.

I rejoice you can fill all your *vuides*[6]: the Maintenon could not, and that was her great misfortune. Seriously though, I congratulate you on your happineſs, and seem

[2] To the Bard. *Berry.*—In the original (1757) edition there were four notes to the *Bard*, none to the *Progress of Poesy*. When the two odes were reprinted by Dodsley, in the collected edition of Gray's poems, in 1768, Gray added a number of notes to each.

[3] 'Ye tow'rs of Julius! London's lasting shame'. Bard, verse 87. *Berry.*

[4] In line 102 of the *Bard*, instead of 'Leave me unblessed, unpitied here to mourn', as it now stands, Gray originally wrote, 'Leave your despairing Caradoc to mourn' (see Walpole to Lord Lyttelton, 25 Aug. 1757). Gray apparently had at first intended to call the ode *Caradoc*, by which name he refers to it in a letter to Wharton (9 Jan. 1756). His 'private reasons' for rejecting this title may have been, as Tovey suggests, that he was apprehensive lest his poem should be associated with Mason's *Caractacus*, which was then on the stocks, and was published two years later.

[5] In his translation of the Welsh fragment entitled *Caradoc*, Gray so scanned it—'So Caradoc bore his lance'.

[6] See Letter 181, n. 4. Madame de Maintenon writes to Madame de la Maisonfort: 'Que ne puis-je vous donner mon expérience! que ne puis-je vous faire voir l'ennui qui dévore les grands, et la peine qu'ils ont à remplir leurs journées! Ne voyez-vous pas que je meurs de tristesse, dans une fortune qu'on aurait eu peine à imaginer? J'ai été jeune et jolie; j'ai goûté des plaisirs; j'ai été aimée partout. Dans un âge plus avancé, j'ai passé des années dans le commerce de l'esprit; je suis venue à la faveur, et je vous proteste, ma chère fille, que tous les états laissent un vide affreux' (quoted by Voltaire in *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. xxvii).

to understand it. The receipt is obvious: it is only, Have something to do; but how few can apply it!— Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

205. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Stoke. Aug: 10. 1757.

I AM extremely sorry to hear of poor M^r^ Bentley's illneſs. what I can not account for is, that You or He should trust such a Dog of an Apothecary, after he had shew'd himself, to do any thing, even to sell medecines; when it is just as easy for him to put in a grain of slow poison, as to administer a dose of pure & innocent brown-Paper.

Dodsley sent me some copies[1] last week: they are very pleasant to the eye, & will do no dishonour to your Preſs. as you are but young in the trade, you will excuse me if I tell you, that some little inaccuracies have escaped your eye, as in the 9^th^ page *Lab'rinth's* & *Echo's*[2], (w^ch^ are Nominat:^s^ plural,) with Apostrophes

LETTER 205.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Of the Strawberry Hill edition of the two odes, which had been published by Dodsley in a slim 4to two days previously—*Odes by Mr. Gray.* ΦΩΝΑΝΤΑ ΣΥΝΕΤΟΙΣΙ—Pindar, Olymp. II. *Printed at Strawberry-Hill, for R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall.* MDCCLVII. [Price one Shilling]. (See Letter 204, n. 1).

[2] In lines 70 and 71 of the *Progress of Poesy*. The former of these misprints was corrected in the 1768 edition; the second was not, and continues to be reproduced to this day.

after them, as tho' they were Genitives singular; & P: 16, *s*orrow & *s*olitude[3] without capital letters. besides certain Commas here.& there omitted. if you do not commit greater faults in your next work, I shall grow jealous of Hentzerus[4].

I am going to add to the trouble I have given you by desiring you would tell me, what you hear any body say, (I mean, if any body says any thing). I know you will forgive this vanity of an Author, as the vanity of a Printer is a little interested in the same cause. the Garricks[5] have been here for three days much to my

[3] In line 62 of the *Bard*; this correction was not made, both words appear with small letters in the 1768 edition, and hence in modern editions.

[4] This was the second book issued from the Strawberry Hill Press—*A Journey into England.* By Paul Hentzner, in the year MDXCVIII. *Printed at Strawberry Hill,* MDCCLVII. In the MS. *Journal* above quoted (see Letter 204, n. 1) Walpole records: '1757. Aug. 8th. began to print Hentznerus's account of England, with a translation by Rich. Bentley; the advertisement by H. Walpole.... — Oct. 13th. fifty copies of Hentznerus finished.—17. The whole number, being 220 copies, compleated.' This book was originally intended to be the first issue of Walpole's press, as appears from his letter to Chute of 12 July 1757: 'On Monday next the Officina Arbuteana opens in form ... And with what do you think we open? *Cedite, Romani Impressores*—with nothing under *Graii Carmina.* I found him in town last week: he had brought his two Odes to be printed. I snatched them out of Dodsley's hands, and they are to be the first-fruits of my press. An edition of Hentznerus, with a version by Mr. Bentley and a little preface of mine, were prepared, but are to wait.'

[5] David Garrick (1717–79), at this time at the height of his fame. He had married in 1749 Eva Maria Violette or Veigel, 'a German dancer, first at the Opera, and then at the playhouse' (*Walpole*), a protégée of the Earl and Countess of Burlington. She died in 1822, aged 98. The Garricks, as appears from Gray's letter to James Brown of Aug. 14, were the guests at Stoke of Lady Cobham at the Manor House (see Letter 180, n. 4). It was probably on this

Horace Walpole

from a mezzotint by J. McArdell after Sir Joshua Reynolds P.R.A.

entertainment. if you see him, do not fail to make him tell you the story of *Bull & Poker*. Adieu, I am ever

Yours

TG:

206. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Stoke. Oct: 13. 1757.

IT will be three weeks or more before I can come to Town. I have had, almost eversince I was here, a much worse state of health than I have been used to, & particularly of late: they advise me to force a fit of the Gout, but methinks it is better to bear with a number of leſser maladies. I am not however at present confined by them, & therefore leave you to weigh my infirmities against your own impatience. if it won't stay, till I see you in London, & you will hazard the sending your chaise on Wednesday next, to be sure I will come, if I am able.

I begin at this distance with telling you, that tho' I admire rapidity in writing, & perseverance in finishing, being two talents that I want; yet I do not admire

occasion that Mrs. Garrick made the remark, à propos of the expression 'many-twinkling feet' in the *Progress of Poesy* (l. 35), recorded by Walpole in his letter to Lord Lyttelton of Aug. 25, that 'Mr. Gray is the only poet who ever understood dancing'.

LETTER 206.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

rapidity in *printing*[1], because this is a thing, that I or any body, can do. I am

Yours ever

TG.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: 15 OC

207. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I HAVE looked with all my eyes, & can not discover one error[1], w^ch^ is the greatest misfortune, that can befall a Critick.

TG:

Friday. [Oct. 21, 1757][2]

Addressed: To
The Hon:^ble^ Horace Walpole
Arlington Street

[1] This may perhaps refer to the printing at Strawberry Hill of Garrick's verses to Gray on his two odes (see Letter 207).

LETTER 207.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] This probably refers to Garrick's complimentary verses on Gray's two odes, which Walpole printed on a 4to sheet at the Strawberry Hill Press on 17 Oct. 1757, and of which he had doubtless sent Gray copies. These verses originally appeared anonymously in the *London Chronicle* for Saturday, 1 Oct. 1757. (See Gray to Wharton, 7 Oct. 1757.) In the MS. *Journal* above quoted Walpole records: '1757. Oct. 17. printed two dozen copies of M^r^ Garrick's stanzas to M^r^ Gray, occasioned by his odes being but moderately well received by the public: here they follow;

Repine not, Gray that our weak dazled eyes
Thy daring heights & brightneſs shun;
How few can track the Eagle to the skies,
Or like him gaze upon the Sun?

The gentle Reader loves the gentle Muse,
That little dares & little means,

208. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Jan: 17. 1758. Pemb: Hall[1].

S[r]

I OUGHT sooner to have thank'd you for the *reverend* Packet you were so good to convey to me[2]. it was (as you gueſs'd) nine pages of criticism written

Who humbly sips her learning from *Reviews*,
Or flutters in the *Magazines*.
No longer now from Learning's sacred store
Our minds their health & vigor draw;
Homer & Pindar are revered no more,
No more the Stagyrite is Law.
Tho nurst by these, in vain thy Muse appears
To breath her ardors in our souls;
In vain to sightleſs eyes & deaden'd ears
The Lightning gleams & thunder rolls.
Yet droop not, Gray, nor quit thy heav'n born art,
Again thy wondrous pow'rs reveal;
Wake slumb'ring virtue in the Briton's heart,
And rouse us to *reflect & feel*.
With ancient deeds our long chill'd bosoms fire,
Those deeds which mark Eliza's reign!
Make Britons, Greeks again—
then strike the Lyre,
And Pindar shall not sing in vain.

Oct. 26[th]. printed three dozen more * of M[r] Garrick's verses to Mr Gray.'

[2] As the verses were printed on Monday, Oct. 17, this seems the most probable date for Gray's note of acknowledgement.

LETTER 208.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Gray had moved from Peterhouse to Pembroke in March 1756 (see his letter to Wharton of 25 March 1756, and Tovey's note 3 *in loc.*, and his supplementary note, vol. ii, p. 304).

[2] Gray had received this packet nearly six weeks before, as appears from his letter to Wharton of 8 Dec. 1757: 'Somebody has directed a letter to the *Rev[d]* M[r] G: at Strawberry-Hill, w[ch] was sent me yesterday hither. It is anonymous, consists of above nine pages, all about the Bard, and if I would hear as much more about

* Making in all 60 copies. It is usually stated that only six copies were printed.

with much freedom, full of rough (& sometimes ill-grounded) censures, but season'd with high-flow'n compliments. it is all about the Bard alone: if I think it worth my while to hear, what he has to say about the other ode, I am told to direct to A: B: inclosed to the Post-Master at Andover. after what I have said, you will think it strange, that I have thought it worth while to write a line to this A: B:; nevertheleſs I have done so[3], for it is a merit with me, that he has taken the pains to read & certainly does understand me, tho' his judgement about what he reads is not always superlative. I have taken the liberty to desire, he would direct his packet as before, w^ch^ I hope You will forgive, as I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: ROYS 19
TON IA

his Companion, I am to direct to the Posthouse at Andover.'

[3] In his letter to Mason of 3 Jan. 1758 Gray says: 'I wrote to the man . . . and had a second criticism; his name (for I desired to know it) is Butler.' In a note to Gray's letter to Wharton of 8 Dec. 1757, Mitford writes: 'Gray's, then unknown, critic and correspondent was, I believe, Mr. J. Butler, of Andover. In a MS. letter from Gray to Dodsley (which Mr. Bindley purchased at the sale of Mr. Isaac Reed's books [1808], subsequently bought by Mr. Rogers at Bindley's sale [1818] for eighteen guineas), after he has mentioned how he wishes his poems to be printed, and added some notes, &c. he says, "When you have done, I shall desire you to present, in my name, a copy to Mr. Walpole, in Arlington Street; another to Mr. Daines Barrington (he is one of the Welsh judges) in the Inner

209. GRAY TO WALPOLE

July 22. 1758—Stoke.

I HAVE been in Town at your house, & left a note there for you: on my return hither I have received your second letter. on Monday I am going with the Cobhams[1] to Hampton, & propose to come from thence to Strawberry on Wednesday evening, or Thursday before dinner. I am sorry to hear of M^r^ C:^s^[2] illneſs: it is likely, he will not be able to go into the country; but if he does, I shall be glad to attend you

Temple; and a third, to Mr. J. Butler, at Andover. Whether this latter gentleman is living or not, in that neighbourhood, I am ignorant; but you will oblige me in making the enquiry. If you have no better means of knowing, a line directed to the post mistress at Andover, will bring you information; after this you may, if you please, bestow another copy or two on me".' This letter of Gray's, for which Mitford gives no date, probably refers to the edition of his poems published by Dodsley in 1768.

LETTER 209.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Lady Cobham (see Letter 180, n. 4) and her niece, Miss Henrietta Jane Speed (daughter of Colonel Samuel Speed), who resided with her at the Manor House, Stoke Poges. Miss Speed was one of the heroines of the *Long Story* (see Letter 180, n. 8). She inherited a large fortune from Lady Cobham (who died in March, 1760), and it was rumoured that she and Gray were going to make a match. 'The World said before Lady Cobham's death, that Mrs Speed and I had shut ourselves up with her in order to make her Will, & that afterwards we were to be married' (Gray to Wharton, 21 Oct. 1760). She married, however, soon after (1761) Baron de la Peyrière, afterwards Comte de Viry, Sardinian Minister in London and Paris (see Gray to Wharton, Jan. 1762; 5 March 1766). She died in 1783.

[2] Mr. Chute.

thither, & *back again*, if you will take that trouble upon you. I am

Yours ever

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble Horace Walpole, at
the Hon^ble M^r Bateman's[3]
Old-Windsor.

210. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[London] Wednesday. Feb: 14. [1759][1]

I HAVE been confined at home for this last fortnight with a fit of the Gout, & was but just got out again in a great shoe, when I call'd on you. I go to Cambridge early tomorrow morning, & can not (I'm afraid) today have it in my power to see you. if you will write to me, I shall be glad. early in March I must of neceſsity be again in Town[2]. I am

Yours

TG:

The Dean of Lincoln (D^r Green[3]) who is Master of

[3] Hon. Richard Bateman (d. 1773), son of Sir James Bateman, Kt., and brother of first Viscount Bateman.

LETTER 210.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year has been inserted by Walpole in the original.

[2] Writing to Mason from Cambridge on March 1, Gray says: 'I must return again in three days to town about business, which is not like to add much to the sweetness of my temper, especially while stocks are so low'; and on April 10 from London: 'I have lost above £200 by selling stock.'

[3] John Green (d. 1779), Fellow of St. John's, 1730; M.A. 1731; D.D. 1749; Regius Professor of Divinity, 1749–56; Master of Corpus Christi College, 1750–64; Vice-Chancellor, 1756; Dean of Lincoln, 1756–61; Bishop of Lincoln, 1761–79.

Benet College[4], Camb:, offers his service with great civility, if you chuse to have any letter or paper in their Library (w^ch^, you know, abounds) transcribed for you.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole

211. WALPOLE TO GRAY

Arlington street
Feb. 15. 1759.

THE inclosed which I have this minute received from M^r^ Bentley, explains much that I had to say to you—yet I have a question or two more.

Who & what sort of Man is a M^r^ Sharp[1] of Bennet? I have received a most obliging & genteel letter[2] from

[4] The old name of Corpus Christi College.

LETTER 211.—First printed by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford* (vol. v, pp. 355–6); now reprinted from original in Waller Collection.

[1] John Sharp, M.A. 1753; Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[2] This letter, the original of which is preserved among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection, runs as follows:

C C C C. Feb. 9. 1759.

SIR.

The inclos'd is a Copy of an Original Letter, written by King Edward the sixth and preserv'd in the Manuscript Library of this College. I take the Liberty of a Fellow Citizen in the Republic of Letters, (to use your own elegant Allusion) in comũnicating to you this Trifle, in return for that present of great Curiosity as well as real value, with which you have lately favourd us. & which you must allow *us* to call so, Your Catalogue of Royal & Noble Authors:—Neque enim soli judicant, qui maligne legunt, says Pliny in your own manner, The Citizens of no mean City in the Commonwealth of Learning read & judge otherwise. The great pleasure I receiv'd in the perusal of your work, excited me to examine those original Papers belonging to us which you refer to;

him, with the very letter of Edw. 6th.[3] which you was so good as to send me. I have answered his, but shoud like to know a little more about him. Pray thank the Dean of Lincoln too for me; I am much obliged to

I found Letters of King Henry the Fourth, Queen Elizabeth & ye Duke of Somerset, but they are rather mandates & warrants & have only the Sign Manual. The inclosd is of a different kind: 'tis titled in ye Hand of Archbishop Parker who was Chaplain to Ann Boleyn, 'Epistola scripta manu propria sereniſsimi regis Edwardi VItĩ ad Dominam Catherinam Reginam relictam regis Henrici octavi'. The Abp seems to have been his Preceptor on this occasion, & ye manner of ye whole confirms the justneſs of your remarks on this Kings education. I will not detain you longer Sir on this Trifle, which you will scarce think worth inserting in the next Edition of your work. But if you are desirous of my making farther researches, & consulting any other Repositaries at this Place, I shall be very willing to impart what I may find to your purpose. We hope to see another Volume of your Work, & that many of the present Nobility will make a conspicuous Figure in it, such as the Earl of Chesterfield, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Lyttleton, Lord Royston, with some farther additions to ye account of ye late Lord Hervey.

I am Sr.
with Great Respect
yrs.
J Sharp.

[3] The following is the letter of Edward VI, a transcript of which was enclosed with the above:

Epła scripta manu propria Sereniſsimi regis Edwardi vj ad Dnam Katherinam reginã relictã regis Henrici octavi.

Cũ non procul abs te abeſsẽ et quotidie me te visurum sperarẽ mihi optimũ videbatur non omnino ad te literas dare. Literæ enim sunt cuiusdam et memorię et benevolentię longe absentiũ signa. Sed ego petitione tua tandẽ accensus non potui non ad te literas mittere. Primũ ut tibi gratũ faciam deinde vero ut tuis literis respondeã benevolentia plenis quas e Sancto Jacobo ad me misisti. In quibus ṕmũ ponis ante oculos tuũ amorẽ erga patrẽ meũ Nobiliſsimę memorię Regẽ, deinde benevolentiã erga me ac postremo pietatẽ scientiam atq; doctrinã in sacris literis. Perge igitur in tuo bono incepto et prosequere patrẽ amore diuturno ac exhibe mihi tua (?) signa benevolentię quę semper hactenus ostendisti, et ne desinas amare et legere sacras literas sed semper in eis legendis persevera. In primo enim indicas officium bonę conjugis et subjectę in secundo ostendis laudem amicitię tuę et in tertio tuã pietatẽ erga deũ. Quare cũ ames patrem non poſsũ non te vehementer laudare cũ me ames non te iterũ diligere et cum verba

him for his offer, but had rather draw upon his *Lincolnship* than his *Cambridgehood*[4]. In the library of the former are some original letters of Tiptoft[5], as you will find in my Catalogue. When Dr. Greene is there, I shall be glad if he will let me have them copied.

I will thank you if you will look in some provincial history of Ireland for Odo (Hugh) Oneil King of Ulster[6]; when did he live? I have got a most curious Seal of his, & know no more of him than of Ouacraw King of the Paw-waws.

I wanted to ask you whether you or anybody that you beleive in, beleive in the Q. of Scots' letter to Q. Elizabeth—If it is genuine, I dont wonder she cut her head off—but I think it must be some forgery that was not made use of.

Now to my distreſs—you must have seen an Advertisement, perhaps the book itself, the villainous book itself, that has been published to defend me against the Critical Review[7]. I have been childishly unhappy

dei ames te colã et mirabor ex animo. Quare si quid sit quo poſsũ tibi gratum facto vel verbo facere libenter præstabo. Vale. tricesimo Maij.

A copy, taken off from the original in the Library of CCCC by John Sharp MA Fellow of CCCC Janʸ. 15 1759.

[4] See Letter 210, n. 3.

[5] John Tiptoft (1427–70), Earl of Worcester. The letters mentioned were in the cathedral library at Lincoln.

[6] Hugh O'Neill, Lord of Cinel Eoghain, called Lord of Tyrone, and King of Ulster; his life was spent in warfare against neighbouring chiefs, and against the English, whom he several times defeated; he died in 1230.

[7] It was called 'Observations on the account given of the *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England*, &c., &c., in article vi of the *Critical Review*, No. 25, for December, 1758, where the unwarrantable liberties taken with that work and the honourable author of it are examined and exposed'. *Walpole.*

about it, & had drawn up a protestation or Affidavit of my knowing nothing of it, but my friends woud not let me publish it. I sent to the printer who woud not discover the Author—nor coud I guefs. They tell me nobody can suspect my being privy to it, but there is an Intimacy affected that I think will deceive many—& yet I must be the most arrogant fool living if I coud know & suffer anybody to speak of me in that Style—For God's sake do all you can for me, and publish my Abhorrence. Today I am told that it is that puppy Dr Hill[8], who has chosen to make war with the Magazines thro my Sides. I coud pardon him any abuse, but I never can forgive this *Friendship*. adieu!

Yrs ever

HW.

212. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[March, 1760][1]

I AM so charmed with the two specimens of Erse poetry[2], that I cannot help giving you the trouble to enquire a little farther about them, and should wish

[8] John Hill (d. 1775), miscellaneous writer and botanist. He was afterwards gardener at Kensington Palace.

LETTER 212.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, p. 398.

[1] The date of this letter is fixed approximately by the fact that Walpole embodied a copy of it in his letter to Sir David Dalrymple of 4 April 1760, in which, he says, he writes 'to satisfy the curiosity of a friend; a friend whom you, Sir, will be glad to have made curious, as you originally pointed him out as a likely person to be charmed with the old Irish poetry you sent me. It is Mr Gray, who is an enthusiast about those poems, and begs me to put the following queries to you; which I will do in his own words, and I may say truly, *Poeta loquitur*. "I am so charmed etc."'

[2] Sir David Dalrymple had sent

to see a few lines of the original, that I may form some slight idea of the language, the measures, and the rhythm[3].

Is there anything known of the author or authors, and of what antiquity are they supposed to be?

Is there any more to be had of equal beauty, or at all approaching to it?

I have been often told that the poem called Hardicanute (which I always admired, and still admire) was the work of somebody that lived a few years ago[4]. This I do not at all believe, though it has evidently been retouched in places by some modern hand: but, however, I am authorised by this report to ask, whether

to Walpole in January of this year an instalment of the so-called poems of Ossian, which were published at Edinburgh in the following July, as *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands and translated from the Gaelic or Erse languages* (see Walpole to Dalrymple, 3 Feb. 1760).

[3] Walpole succeeded in securing the desired specimens of the original from Macpherson through the good offices of Sir David Dalrymple, as appears from the following extract from a letter, dated from Balgowan, 24 April 1760, from Macpherson to Dalrymple, preserved among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection: 'Inclosed I send two short specimens of the Irish versification: I found no time to review critically pieces of great length; but, I hope the few lines sent will give an Idea of the measure—One is not to be byass'd against the Harmony of the language for the many consonants in the present specimen, As I could not express the sound of the Erse otherwise in our characters. The Irish character differs in pronounciation from the few Alphabets I am acquainted with; and several of our Erse sounds are inexpressible in any other but our own.'

[4] It is supposed to have been written, or at any rate remodelled, by Lady Wardlaw (1677–1727), daughter (Elizabeth) of Sir Charles Halket, Bart., and wife (1696) of Sir Henry Wardlaw, Bart. The poem was included in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* by Percy, who in an introductory note says, 'this fine morsel of heroic poetry hath generally past for ancient', but, 'after all, there is more than reason to suspect, that it owes most of its beauties (if not its whole existence) to the pen of a lady, within the present century.'

the two poems in question are certainly antique and genuine. I make this enquiry in quality of an antiquary, and am not otherwise concerned about it: for, if I were sure that any one now living in Scotland had written them to divert himself and laugh at the credulity of the world, I would undertake a journey into the Highlands only for the pleasure of seeing him.

213. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

THERE is a little Party going to see Strawberry on Friday before dinner, & it was asked of me, whether I thought they should get in. what may I answer?

They are *Anonymous*: but their names are M^r^ & M^rs^ Southwell[1], & M^rs^ Boscawen[2].

Wednesday–morning. [1760][3]

Folded as a note, and addressed: To M^r^ Walpole

LETTER 213.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Perhaps Hon. Mrs. Edward Southwell (Catherine Watson, daughter of Viscount Sondes, eldest son of first Earl of Rockingham, whom he predeceased, by Lady Catherine Tufton, daughter of sixth Earl of Thanet, and sister of the Dowager Countess Gower), the widow of Edward Southwell, of King's Weston, Gloucestershire, Secretary of State for Ireland, 1720–55; M.P. for Bristol City, 1739–54; who died in 1755. She died in April, 1765 (see Walpole to Lord Hertford, 7 April 1765). In this case the Mr. Southwell would be her son, Edward Southwell (1738–77), M.P. for Gloucestershire, 1763–76, afterwards (1776) twentieth Baron de Clifford, who appears to have been at Pembroke Hall. (See Gray to Mason, 10 Dec. 1760.)

[2] Perhaps Hon. Mrs. Edward Boscawen (Frances, daughter of William Evelyn Glanville), the wife (d. 1805) of Admiral Hon. Edward Boscawen (d. 1761).

[3] Date conjectural; the note is assigned to this year partly from considerations of handwriting.

214. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

[August, 1760][1]

* * * *.

P.S.

I forgot to tell you the only thing I had worth telling you, that in a pocket book of Vertue[2], who you know was a rigid catholic & who woud no more have invented a falshood on that side, than He coud invent, there is an Extract from a Copy taken by Martin Folkes[3] of a Letter in the poſseſsion of the late Duke of Montagu[4]; it was to the Duke's Ancestor Sr Ralph Winwood[5] from the Duke of Buckingham[6], telling him how impatient the King[7] was, & how much he complained that Winwood had not yet disclosed to Gondo-

[1] LETTER 214.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection. The leaf containing the letter to which this is the postscript has been torn off, and is missing.

[1] The date is fixed approximately by Gray's letter of 2 Sept. 1760, in which he thanks Walpole for the anecdote about Sir Walter Raleigh. (See Letter 215, n. 27).

[2] George Vertue (1684–1756), engraver and antiquary. During the last forty years of his life he collected materials for a history of the fine arts in England. His note-books (now in the British Museum) were bought from his widow in 1758 for £100 by Walpole, who compiled from them his *Anecdotes of Painting in England.*

[3] President of the Royal Society, 1741–53; President of the Society of Antiquaries, 1750–54; died, 1754.

[4] John Montagu (1689–1749), second Duke of Montagu.

[5] Sir Ralph Winwood (*c.* 1563–1617), Secretary of State, 1614–17. His daughter Anne married in 1633 Edward Montagu, second Baron Montagu, grandfather of the second Duke of Montagu.

[6] George Villiers (1592–1628), first Duke of Buckingham.

[7] James I.

mar[8] the purport & design of S[r] Walter Raleigh's expedition to the West Indies[9]!

215. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Cambridge, Sept. 2, 1760.

MY inquiries, and the information I am able to give you in consequence of them, are as follows: if they amount to but little, thank yourself for applying to a sucking antiquary.

[8] Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (1567–1626), Count of Gondomar (1617), Spanish Ambassador in England, 1613–18, 1619–22.

[9] In 1617; Raleigh returned to England in June 1618, and was beheaded on Oct. 29 following, in compliance with the demands of Gondomar.

LETTER 215.—Reprinted from Mitford's *Correspondence of Thomas Gray and the Rev. Norton Nicholls, with other pieces hitherto unpublished*, pp. 199–216. Mitford states (p. viii) that he printed this letter from a transcript of Gray's own MS. He heads the letter 'Notes on Walpole's Lives of the Painters'. The progress of this work of Walpole's, which, as appears from the above letter, Gray read in MS., is recorded in his *Short Notes*: '1760. Jan. 1st. I began the lives of English Artists, from Vertue's MSS. (that is, *Anecdotes of Painting &c*) . . . Aug. 14th. Finished the first volume of my *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. Sept. 5th, began the second volume. Oct. 23rd, finished the second volume. 1761. Jan. 4th, began the third volume . . . June 29th, resumed the third volume of my *Anecdotes of Painting*, which I had laid aside after the first day. . . . Aug. 22nd, finished the third volume of my *Anecdotes of Painting*.' The three volumes were printed at Strawberry Hill, and published in 1762–3. The progress of the printing is recorded in the MS. *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry Hill* already quoted (see Letter 204, n. 1): '1760. Nov. 24. began to print my Anecdotes of Painting in England . . . — 1761. June 20[th]. finished the first vol. of my anecdotes on painting. 600 copies. — 22[d]. began to print the second Volume. — Nov. 28, finished the Second Volume. 600 copies printed . . . — The two first volumes were published feb. 15[th] 1762. . . . — June 28[th]. began to

Mr. Vertue's MSS.[1] (as I do not doubt you have experienced) will often put you on a false scent. Be aſsured that Occleve's[2] portrait of Chaucer is not, nor ever was, in St. John's Library: they have a MS. of the Troilus and Creſsida without illuminations, and no other part of his works. In the University Library, indeed, there is a large volume with most of his works on vellum, and by way of frontispiece is (pasted in) a pretty old print, taken (as it says) by Mr. Speed[3] from Occleve's original painting in the book *De Regimine Principum*[4], in the middle is Chaucer, a whole length, the same countenance, attitude, and dreſs that Vertue gives you in the two heads which he has engraved of him; the border is composed of escutcheons of arms, all the alliances of the Chaucer family, and at bottom the tomb of Thomas Chaucer and Maud Burghershe at Ewelm. The print and all the arms are neatly coloured. I only describe this because I never took notice of such a print any where else, though perhaps you may know it; for I suppose it was done for some of Speed's works. About the painting I have

print the third volume of my anecdotes of Painting . . . — Oct. 8th. finished the third Volume . . . — 1763. May 23d. began to reprint the Anecdotes of painting. — Sept. 22d. finished the first Volume . . . — 1764. Jan. 30th. began to reprint the 2d Vol. of the Anecdotes . . . — 1765. March 18 . . . continued reprinting of the Anecdotes . . . — 1767. 2d Edition of the Anecdotes of Painting published in June.' The *Anecdotes of Painting* are contained in the third volume of the *Works of Lord Orford* (1798), to which edition references are given in the following notes.

[1] See Letter 214, n. 2.

[2] See *Works*, iii. 35. Thomas Occleve (*c.* 1370–*c.* 1450).

[3] John Speed (*c.* 1552–1629).

[4] The MS. of Occleve's *De Regimine Principum* with the portrait of Chaucer is in the British Museum (MS. *Harl.* 4866).

a great puzzle in my head between Vertue, Mr. D'Urry[5], and Bishop Tanner[6]. Vertue (you know) has twice engraved Chaucer's head, once for D'Urry's edition of his works, and a second time in the set of poets' heads. Both are done from Occleve's painting; but he never tells us where he found the painting, as he generally uses to do. D'Urry says there is a portrait of Chaucer (doubtleſs a whole length), for he describes his port and stature from it, in poſſeſsion of George Greenwood, Esq. of Chastleton in Gloucestershire. A little after he too mentions the picture by Occleve, but whether the same or not does not appear. Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca*[7] (Artic. Chaucer, see the notes), speaks of Occleve's painting too, but names another work of his (not the *De Regim. Principum*), and adds, that it is in *the King's Library at Westminster*: if so, you will certainly find it in the Museum[8], and Casley's Catalogue[9] will direct you to the place.

Of the profile of Dr. Keys[10] there is only a copy in his College: but there is a portrait of him (not in profile), a good picture, and undoubtedly original, a half-figure upon board, dated Anno 1563, æt. suæ 53.

[5] John Urry (1666–1715); his edition of Chaucer was published posthumously in 1721.

[6] Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), antiquary, Bishop of St. Asaph, 1732–35.

[7] *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, an account of all authors in the three kingdoms down to the beginning of Cent. xvii, published posthumously in 1748.

[8] The British Museum had been opened to the public on 15 Jan. 1759; in the following July Gray settled himself close by, in Southampton Row, for the purposes of study (see letter to Mason of 23 July 1759).

[9] See n. 34.

[10] John Caius (1510–73), physician; he refounded Gonville Hall at Cambridge in 1557, and was Master, 1559–73.

There are fourteen Latin verses inscribed on it, containing a character of him as a scholar and excellent physician, and thus much more—

Qui Cantabrigiæ Gonvilli incæpta minuta
auxit et e parvo nobile fecit opus;
Et qui Mausoleum Linacro donavit in æde,
quæ nunc de Pauli nomine nomen habet, &c.
Talis erat Caius, qualem sub imaginis umbra
Pæne hic viventem picta tabella refert.

At the corner is written Vivit Virtus and Virtus Vivit, *but no painter's name.* In the same room hangs an old picture (very bad at first, and now almost effaced by cleaning) of a man in a slashed doublet, dark curled hair and beard, looking like a foreigner, holding a pair of compasses, and by his side a Polyedron, made up of twelve pentagons. No name or date. You will see presently why I mention it.

The Vice Chancellor (Burroughs, Master of Keys)[11] tells me he very well knew Vertue. That in a book belonging to the Board of Works he had discovered John of Padua[12] to be the architect of Somerset House, and had found that he likewise built Longleat for Sir John Thynne[13]. That it was from the similitude of style in those buildings and in the *four gates* of Key's College, he had imagined the latter to be also the work of John of Padua, and this was all the proof he had of

[11] Sir James Burrough (1691–1764), amateur architect, Master of Caius College, 1754–64; Vice-Chancellor, 1759–60.

[12] An architect (fl. 1545), whose identity is doubtful; by some he is identified with John Caius (see n. 10), by others with Sir John Thynne (see n. 13).

[13] Sir John Thynne (d. 1580), ancestor of the Marquis of Bath, builder (1567–79) of Longleat House, Wiltshire.

it. Upon looking at these gates, I plainly see that they might very well be the work of one man. From the College books I find that the east side, in which are the Portæ Virtutis and Sapientiæ, was built in 1566 and 1576. These are joined by two long walks to the *Porta Humilitatis*, opening to the street; and in the two walls are two little Doric frontispieces, leading into gardens; all these are (I dare say) of one time, and shew the Roman architecture reviving amongst us, with little columns and pilasters, well enough proportioned in themselves, and neatly executed, but in no proportion to the building they are meant to adorn. In the year 1575 are these words, *Porta* (quæ *Honoris dicitur*) *et ad Scholas Publicas aperit a Lapide quadrato duroq. extruebatur, ad eam scilicet formam et effigiem, quam Doctor Caius* (*dum viveret*) *Architecto præscripserat elaborata.* This is the gate (more ornamented than the rest, but in the same style) which you remember: it cost £128. 9*s.* 5*d.* in building. N.B. Dr. Caius died July 29, 1573.

In the same year, 1575, are these words: *Positum est Joh. Caio: ex alabastro monumentum summi decoris et artificii eodem in sacelli loco, quo corpus ejus antea sepeliebatur; sui præter insculpta illius insignia et annotatum ætatis obitusq. diem et annum* (*uti vivus executoribus ipse præceperat*) *duas tantummodo sententias has inscripsimus, Vivit post funera Virtus—Fui Caius.* This monument (made to stand upon the ground, but now raised a great deal above the eye on a heavy, ugly base, projecting from the wall) is a sarcophagus, with ribbed work and mouldings (somewhat antique), placed on a basement, supporting pretty large Corinthian columns of fine alabaster, which bear

up an entablature, and form a sort of canopy over it. The capitals are gilt, and the upper part both gilt and painted with ugly scrolls and compartments, *à la Elisabet*; the rest is simple and well enough.

Charge of the Founder's tomb, finished in 1575:

	£.	s.	d.
For alabaster and carriage . . .	10	10	0
To Theodore and others for carving .	33	16	5
To labourers	8	18	1
Charges extraordinary	2	0	2

Then in anno 1576 are these words, *In Atrio Doctoris Caii Columna erecta est, eiq. lapis miro artificio elaboratus atq. in se* 60 *Horologia complexus imponitur, quem Theodorus Haveus Cleviensis Artifex egregius et insignis Architecturæ Professor fecit et insigniis* (read insignibus) *eorum Generosorum qui tum in Collegio morabantur depinxit, et velut monumentum suæ erga collegium benevolentiæ eidem dedicavit. Hujus in summitate lapidis constituitur ventilabrum ad formam Pegasi formatum.*

This column is now destroyed, with all its sundials; but when Loggan[14] did his views of the Colleges, the pillar (though not the dials) was still standing.

From all this I draw, that Theodore Haveus of Cleves, the architect, sculptor, painter, and diallist, did probably build the Porta Honoris (if not all the others), and having worked many years for Doctor Caius and the College, in gratitude, left behind him his *own picture*[15].

[14] David Loggan (*c.* 1635–1700), published *Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675; *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, 1676–90.

[15] Walpole embodied the whole of the foregoing information with regard to Theodore Haveus and Caius College in the *Anecdotes*

In the Gallery at Emanuel are several pictures worth remarking, but not one name of a painter to be found.

1. Archbishop Cranmer[16], head and hands (on board) in his tippet of martens, and seal ring of his arms, æt. 57.

2. Sir Walter Mildmay[17], (the Founder,) whole length, black cap and long gown, book of statutes in his hand, pale and old, 1588; tolerably well done.

3. Sir Antony Mildmay[18], (his son,) 1596, whole length, doublet of gold tiſsue, black cloak, many jewels, high crowned hat hanging on a chair, armour lying on the floor, and a fine damasked long pistol, letters on a table, directed to his Majesty's Ambaſsador, a carpet mightily finished.

4. Mrs. Joyce Franklin, (a benefactreſs,) jolly woman above forty, with an enamelled watch open in her hand. No date. Dreſs of about Queen Mary's time. A head and hands.

5. Dr. Hall[19], Bishop of Exeter, the great gold medal (representing the Synod of Dort) hanging in a chain about his neck. A head miserably done.

6. *Effig. Rodulphi Simons, Architecti, suâ ætate peritisimi, qui (præter plurima ædificia ab eo præclare facta) duo Collegia Emanuelis, hoc, Sidneii illud, extruxit integre:*

(see *Works*, iii. 141–3), where he acknowledges his indebtedness 'to the same hand (Mr Gray) to which this work owes many of its improvements' (see n. 78).

[16] Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), Archbishop of Canterbury, 1533–56.

[17] Sir Walter Mildmay (*c.* 1520–89); Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1566; founded Emmanuel College, 1585.

[18] Ambassador to Henry IV of France, 1596–7; died, 1617.

[19] Joseph Hall (1574–1656); Deputy at the Synod of Dort, 1618; Bishop of Exeter, 1627–41; Bishop of Norwich, 1641–47.

magnam etiam partem Trinitatis reconcinnavit ampliſsime. Head, and hands with a great pair of compaſses.

In St. John's Library is what I take for the original of Lady Margaret[20], kneeling at her oratory under a state. It is hung at a great height, and spoiled by damp and neglect; while the Master[21] keeps very choicely in his lodge a miserable copy of it. In the same Library is a very good whole length of Bishop Williams[22], (while Lord Keeper,) standing, and *a carpet* in it, finished with great care; perhaps, therefore, by the same hand as that of Sir Antony Mildmay. In the lodge is a very good old picture that used to be called Bishop Fisher[23], but Dr. Taylor[24] has told them it is

[20] Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509); married, firstly (1455), Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond (d. 1456), by whom she became the mother of Henry VII; secondly (*c.* 1482), as his second wife, Thomas Stanley, Lord Stanley, afterwards (1485) Earl of Derby. She was the foundress of the Lady Margaret professorships of divinity (1502) at Oxford and Cambridge, and of Christ's College (1505) and St. John's College (1511), Cambridge.

[21] At this time John Newcome, D.D.; Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, 1727–65; Master of St. John's College, 1735–65; Dean of Rochester, 1744–65.

[22] John Williams (1582–1650); Fellow of St. John's, 1603; Dean of Salisbury, 1619; of Westminster, 1620; Lord Keeper (in succession to Bacon), and Bishop of Lincoln, 1621; Archbishop of York, 1641–50. The Library at St. John's was built with funds provided by him.

[23] John Fisher (*c.* 1459–1535); Master of Michaelhouse, Cambridge, 1497; Vice-Chancellor, 1501; first Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, 1503; Chancellor of the University, and Bishop of Rochester, 1504; President of Queens' College, 1505–8; beheaded, 1535. He was actively concerned in the foundation of Christ's and St. John's Colleges, under Lady Margaret's benefaction (see n. 20). The picture here referred to was discovered later to be by Holbein, and to be a portrait, not of Bishop Fisher, but (probably) of Sir Anthony Denny (see Letter 234, n. 8).

[24] Probably John Taylor (1704–66); Fellow of St. John's, 1729; Registrary of the University, 1734–58; F.R.S. and F.S.A., 1759.

Sir Antony Brown[25]: what his reasons are I cannot tell, as he is not here; it is surely of Henry the Eighth's time, and a layman; on a board split from top to bottom.

I sympathize with your gout: it would be strange if I did not, with so many internal monitors as I carry about me, that hourly bid me expect it myself this autumn. Yet it frights me to hear of *both feet*. What did you do, and in the night too[26], which one foot only can make of equal duration with a night in Greenland?

I thank you for your anecdote about Sir Walter Raleigh[27], which is very extraordinary.

What do you think of the Erse Poems[28] now they are come out? I suppose your suspicions are augmented: yet (upon some farther inquiries I have made) Mr. David Hume (the historian)[29] writes word that 'their authenticity is beyond all question; that Adam Smith, the celebrated Professor at Glasgow[30], has assured him (who doubted too) that he had heard the *Piper of the Argyleshire militia* repeat all these and many more of equal beauty. That Major Mackay, the Laird and Lady of Macleod, and the Laird of Macfarline, the greatest antiquarian in all their country, and others,

[25] Sir Anthony Browne (d. 1548); Ambassador to France, 1528 and 1533; guardian to Prince Edward and Princess Elizabeth (see n. 23).

[26] Mitford: 'in the night, to'.

[27] See Letter 214.

[28] The so-called poems of Ossian, which had been published at Edinburgh in the previous July (see Letter 212, n. 2).

[29] David Hume (1711–76) had at this time published (1754–59) four of the six volumes of his *History*.

[30] Adam Smith (1723–90), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow, 1752–63. His reputation had been made by the publication in the previous year (1759) of his *Theory of the Moral Sentiments*. The famous *Wealth of Nations* was not published till 1776.

who live in the Highlands very remote from each other, remember them perfectly well, and could not be acquainted with them if they were not spread into every one's mouth there, and become in a manner national works[31].' This is certainly the only proof, that works preserved merely by tradition, and not in manuscript, will admit of.

Adieu, I have done at last. Oh no! my defence of Sir T. Wyat[32] is much at your service; but as it was the first thing I transcribed (when I was little versed in old hands), there probably may be mistakes, which I could correct by comparing it with the MSS. were I in town. I have also four long letters of his to the King, while he was ambaſsador[33], but, I doubt, you will scarce think them worth printing, as they contain no very remarkable facts, yet they help to shew the spirit, vigilance, and activity of the man.

Look in Casley's Catalogue of the King's Library[34],

[31] In his letter to Mason of 20 Aug. 1760, Gray gives a long verbatim extract from this letter of Hume's. For Gray's doubts as to the authenticity of the poems see his letter to Wharton of June, 1760.

[32] Mitford: 'Sir J. Wyat'. This was 'S[r] Tho: Wyat's Defence at his Tryal, when accused by Bp Bonner of high-treason', which Gray had transcribed 'out of the original Ledger-book of the Signet' in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum (see his letter to Wharton of 18 Sept. 1759). Walpole eventually printed it in 1772 at Strawberry Hill in the second number of his *Miscellaneous Antiquities* (pp. 21–54), with an acknowledgement to Gray ('What M[r] Gray thought worth copying, who will not think worth reading?'), who had died in the previous year. The trial in question was that of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder (*c.* 1503–42), the poet, in 1541.

[33] He was Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V, 1537–39.

[34] David Casley (d. *c.* 1740), Keeper of the Cottonian Library; the reference to the Chaucer portrait is on p. 269 of his *Catalogue of the MSS. of the King's Library* (London, 1734).

at 17 D. 4to. VI. 1. and you will find the MSS. of Occleve and painting of Chaucer[35].

Cap. iii, p. 16. Or *to his having*—traces *of their having* flourished. Not leſs voluptuous, *nor even* refined. Do you mean, *nor leſs refined?*[36]

Portrait of his Queen. There is another at Queen's College Cambridge, (of which she was second Foundress); it is a head, and appeared to be of the time, when I saw it, which was some years ago: it is not handsome, nor well painted[37].

P. 17. Two paves[38]. A pave (in French, pavois or fulevas) is a very large buckler, forming an angle in front, like the ridge of a house, and big enough to cover the tallest man from head to foot.

The *bell*[38] with a croſs upon it. Is it not the *ball* (or mound) which he held in his hand?

Chevelers—chevelures or perrukes[38].

Stretched its noblest pinion. A little too fine?[39]

Why should it have sought us?[40] And yet perhaps it sought us most in the reigns of Henry the Third and Charles the First, not to mention a later period, when it had as little to record.

P. 19. *And very descriptive.* I should say, With a downcast look, very expreſsive of his mean temper, and of the little satisfaction he had in the match[41].

With golden hair. In a MS. account of her corona-

[35] On fol. 93vo of the MS.

[36] See *Works of Lord Orford*, iii. 44.

[37] See *Works*, iii. 45.

[38] See *Works*, iii. 46.

[39] Altered to 'attained its brightest epoch'; see *Works*, iii. 47.

[40] See *Works*, iii. 47.

[41] See *Works*, iii. 50.

tion, mention is made of *her fair yellow hair* hanging at length upon her shoulder. (Cotton Lib.)[41]

P. 20. *Designed from thence to contract dignity*[42].—Ungrammatical.

Independent *of the curiosity*[43].—Ditto.

To *strike out the improvement of latter ages.*—What King ever did strike them out? If he knew to choose the best, what more could any prince do?[44]

More refined laws of modern gallantry.—I do not understand this paſsage[44].

P. 23. *Deluge which fell upon them.*—Storm which broke upon them[44].

Geniuſses.—There is no such word, and *genii* means something else.

P. 22. Write Vasari, and not Felibien, who only translates him[45].

P. 27. *Arrived* in 1498—for *happened*[46].

P. 25. Flattery and *ingenuity*[47].—No such word in this sense.

Of the politeneſs *of* either.—Too many *ofs* here and elsewhere[48].

P. 26. *Whose tools Love softened into a pencil*[49].—Much too fine.

Common to the *manner of each*[50].—Ill expreſsed, and so is the whole period.

[42] Altered to 'designed from its lofty stature to give an idea of something above human'; see *Works*, iii. 50.

[43] See *Works*, iii. 51.

[44] See *Works*, iii. 52.

[45] See *Works*, iii. 54.

[46] See *Works*, iii. 58.

[47] Altered to 'flattery and genius'; see *Works*, iii. 59.

[48] See *Works*, iii. 59.

[49] Altered to 'converted into a pencil'; see *Works*, iii. 60–1.

[50] Walpole omitted the expression.

Strong-marked coarseneſs of Nature[51].—Asking your pardon, prose, as well as verse, should have its rhythm, and this sort of expreſsions by no means flatters the ear: in the careleſs and familiar style, their *hardneſs* is even more remarked than in more accurate and polished compositions.

Nor piety could *elate*.—*Elate* is a participle, but there is no such verb as to *elate*, I imagine[52].

P. 27. *Beseeched* his Majesty.—Besought[53].

I should not cite the lines from Lovelace, as they give no new light to the fact, and are so bad in themselves: but they may be referred to[54].

P. 28. In the Priory of Christ Church near Aldgate, then called Duke's Place[55].

P. 29. By doubtful *ones* and pretended *ones*[56].

P. 32. *One at Cambridge*.—It has HE Fecit[57] upon it, remember, and is not like Holbein. Was De Heere in England so early as Henry the Eighth's time? You take no notice of the picture at Petworth, nor that at Windsor in the gallery.

In *that one particular*.—Do you mean it as a compliment to your reader's apprehension, as you do not mention what that particular is?[58]

I do affirm (salva la riverenza) that the whole length

[51] Altered to 'coarseness or deformities of nature'; see *Works*, iii. 61.

[52] See *Works*, iii. 61.

[53] See *Works*, iii. 62.

[54] See *Works*, iii. 62 note.

[55] See *Works*, iii. 64.

[56] Altered to 'by doubtful or by pretended pieces'; see *Works*, iii. 64.

[57] Mitford: 'I–E Fecit'; but it is evident from Walpole's note (see *Works*, iii. 70) that what Gray wrote was a cipher composed of H and E.

[58] Altered to 'that one particular of colouring'; see *Works*, iii. 70.

of Lord Surry[59] is not Holbein's; if it be, so may fifty more pictures that are called Holbein's.

P. 35. Or *genuineneſs*[60].—But whether genuine, or of what size.

A *George enamelled.*—What had he to do with a George?[61]

I lay no streſs, *being so.*—He says, the picture is but indifferent: on this I lay no more streſs than I do in the case of that at Burford[62].

As *to its not being.*—And demonstrates it not genuine, &c.[62]

P. 36. Were *ready drawn.*—Were already drawn[62].

Never varied the lights, which into *one company.*—Into one piece[62].

Had *fallen* it to £400.—Had sunk it[63].

P. 38. Most tyrannic *suspicion*[64].

Exposing the blemishes.—To expose the blemishes[64].

Draughts *for* prints for.—Draughts of prints for[64].

His own head *he* cut.—Holbein cut his own head[65].

P. 45. Leland, a contemporary, expreſsly says, that the ancient Chapel of St. George, built by Edward the Third, stood on this very spot, and that Henry the Seventh pulled it down and built the present tomb-house in its place, intending himself to be buried there, but afterwards changed his mind, and built his Chapel at Westminster. The words are in his comment on the Cygnea Cantio, printed by Hearne in his Itinerary, vol. ix. which you have[66].

59 See *Works*, iii. 71.
60 Expression omitted by Walpole.
61 See *Works*, iii. 76.
62 See *Works*, iii. 77.
63 See *Works*, iii. 78.
64 See *Works*, iii. 81.
65 See *Works*, iii. 82.
66 See *Works*, iii. 91 note.

P. 46. All[67] a satire upon Dean Lyttleton[68] and me, and some other learned persons. We shall lay our heads together, and try if we cannot hammer out as good a thing about you.

P. 47. In[69] *complicating* edifices, whose pomp, mechanism, &c.[70]—A little more reflection will clear up your ideas, and improve your expreſsion, in this period.

P. 48. Is this story of Sir Christopher Wren[71] well grounded? It looks very like a vulgar tradition.

Inigo Jones and Kent.—Pray add Sir Christopher Wren, as in Warwick steeple, Westminster Abbey, &c.[71]

Will not hazard.—Will hazard nothing[72].

P. 49. You laugh at this artificial earthquake[73]; but pray inquire of Mr. Thrale[74], or some other brewer, what will be the effect if an old nail should drop into one of his boiling coppers: I am told, something very like an earthquake[75].

In a *vacuity* of facts.—In a scarcity[73].

Medeshampstede, which is Peterborough[73].

P. 50.—Gundulphus, the same, I suppose[76].—Undoubtedly.

[67] The passage in question is that which begins 'It is unlucky for the world . . .'; see *Works*, iii. 92.

[68] Charles Lyttelton, at this time Dean of Exeter (see Letter 18, n. 10).

[69] Mitford: 'I'.

[70] See *Works*, iii. 94.

[71] See *Works*, iii. 95.

[72] See *Works*, iii. 96.

[73] See *Works*, iii. 97.

[74] Henry Thrale (d. 1781), owner of the famous Southwark brewery (see Letter 180, n. 4), whose wife (afterwards Mrs. Piozzi) later (1764) became the intimate friend of Dr. Johnson.

[75] The result in a body of superheated liquid, such as that contained in a brewer's copper, would probably be to cause a sudden explosive evolution of steam.

[76] See *Works*, iii. 98.

In this vacuity of names, may it not be worth while to mention Guillaume de Sens, who soon after 1177, 20^mo^. Henry 2^di^, built the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, as it now is. Helias de Barham, Canon of Salisbury, qui a primâ fundatione (temp. Hen. 3^ii^) *Rector* fuit novæ Fabricæ per 25 annos[77]. Whether he were himself the architect, I doubt, because in the same place it is said, Robertus *Cæmentarius* rexit per. 25 annos. (See Leland, Itin. vol. iii. p. 66.)

I beg leave to differ as to the era of Gothic perfection. There is nothing finer than the nave of York Minster (in a great and simple style), or than the choir of the same church (in the rich and filigraine workmanship). Both these are of Edward the Third's reign, the first in the beginning, and the latter in the end of it. The Lady Chapel (now Trinity Church) at Ely, and the lantern tower in the same Cathedral, are noble works of the same time. I mention these as great things; but if we must take our idea from little ones, the Chapel of Bishop West (also at Ely), who died in 1533, 24 Henry VIII. surpasses all other things of the kind[78].

P. 50. Beauty, *ingenuity*.—Genius[79].

Of almost *philigere*.—Filigrane[79].

[77] See *Works*, iii. 98 note.

[78] See *Works*, iii. 99 note, where Walpole acknowledges his obligations to 'a gentleman to whose taste I readily yield'. 'These notices', he writes, 'certainly can add no honour to a name already so distinguished as Mr. Gray's; it is my own gratitude or vanity that prompts me to name him; and I must add, that if some parts of this work are more accurate than my own ignorance or carelessness would have left them, the reader and I are obliged to the same gentleman, who condescended to correct what he never could have descended to write.'

[79] See *Works*, iii. 99.

P. 51. Wolsey's tomb-house[80]. Vid. supra.

By wanting simplicity.—A Goth must not say this; and indeed the uglineſs of this style is not owing to the profusion of ornaments: nor is it a *mixture*, nor *plaistered upon Gothic*[81], for there is nothing Gothic left (except perhaps the ceilings), but it is all, as you say, neither Grecian nor Gothic; or else Grecian alone, divested of its proportions (its every eſsence), and with all its members mismatched.

P. 52. Is the third of Edward the Sixth the last you find of John of Padua, and do you conclude he built a house here near forty years afterwards?[82]

Discerned only with a cylinder[83].—I suppose, reflected by a cylindrical mirror: pray ask somebody that understands such matters.

P. 53. Clement Adams, to instruct the King's Henchmen, &c.[84]—In what? For you have been speaking of the coins.

P. 54. *That might be with* regard, &c.—Read, this may be meant either of their religious or political principles[85].

P. 58. Epitaph written in defence of the Spaniards wants some explanation[86].

[80] See *Works*, iii. 100—the Chapel at Windsor, now known as the Albert Memorial Chapel. Originally begun by Henry III, it was rebuilt in part by Henry VII; later it was given by Henry VIII to Cardinal Wolsey, who erected in it a costly tomb for himself, whence it came to be known as 'Wolsey's tomb-house'.

[81] See *Works*, iii. 100.

[82] See *Works*, iii. 101.

[83] Altered to 'discerned only by the reflection of a cylindric mirrour'; see *Works*, iii. 103.

[84] See *Works*, iii. 104.

[85] See *Works*, iii. 107 note.

[86] See *Works*, iii. 111.

Latin verses, which might be inserted[87].

Powdered with crowns.—Loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds[88].

Various *ones*.—Many of her Majesty[88].

Note about dreſs.—Edward the Sixth carried this restraint still farther; in heads of a Bill drawn up with his own hand, 1551, (though it never paſsed into a law,) no one who had leſs than £100 a year for life, or gentlemen, the King's sworn servants, is to wear satin, damask, ostrich feathers, or furs of conies.

None not worth £200, or £20 in living certain, to wear chamblett.

No serving man (under the degree of a gentleman) to wear any fur, save lamb; nor cloth above 10*s*. the yard[89].

P. 63. Elizabeth in a fantastic habit[90].—You speak of it as certain, whereas it seems only the tradition of the housekeepers, and the lines affixed make it only more doubtful.

P. 67. Pray add something civil of the family[91], who had the sense and taste to preserve the furniture. Several of the articles here mentioned are now at the Museum.

FROM VASARI.

V. 3, p. 270. Susanna, Sorella di Luca Hurembout Miniatore di Guanto, fu chiamata, per ciò al servigio

[87] See *Works*, iii. 108.
[88] See *Works*, iii. 112.
[89] See *Works*, iii. 112 note.
[90] See *Works*, iii. 121.
[91] The Grimston family at Gorhambury, near St. Albans; the then head of the family being James, second Viscount Grimston (1756–74). See *Works*, iii. 125 note.

d'Henrico Ottavo, Ré d'Inghilterra, et vi stette honoratamente tutto il tempo di sua vita.

Levina figlia di Maestro Simone Benich da Bruggia fu maritata nobilmente et havuta in pregio dalla Regina Maria, sì come ancora é dalla Regina Elisabetta[92].

V. 2, p. 63. Torreggiano, a fellow scholar and rival of Michel Angelo, gave him a blow on the face which laid his nose flat. Lavorò in servigio del Ré d'Inghilterra infinite cose di marmo, di bronzo, di legno, a concorrenza d'alcuni Maestri di quel paese, ai quali tutti restò superiore. E ne cavò tanti, e così fatti premii, che se non fuſse stato (come superbo) persona inconsiderata e senza governo, sarebbe vivuto quietamente, e fatto ottima fine: la dove gli avvenne il contrario - - - - died in the Spanish Inquisition in 1522[93]. N.B. Vasari calls him Torrigiano Torrigiani. Vertue names the sculptor of Henry the Seventh's monument (who was P. T. a Florentine) *Pietro* Torregiano.

V. 2, p. 200. Girolamo da Trevigi[94]. His drawing not extraordinary, but coloured well in oil and fresco, imitated Rafael. Condottosi in Inghilterra da alcuni amici suoi, che lo favorivano, fu preposto al Ré Arrigo e giuntogli innanzi non più per pittore ma per ingegniere s'accommodò a' servigi suoi. Quivi mostrando alcune prove d'edificii ingegnosi cavati da altri in Tos-

[92] See *Works*, iii. 55 note. These two extracts from Vasari occur in his chapter *Di Diversi Artefici Fiamminghi* (vol. vii, p. 587, ed. Milanesi). For *Levina*, which is the correct reading (see Letter 216), in the second passage, Mitford prints *Sevina*.' Sundry other errors in the quotations from Vasari have been corrected *sub silentio*.

[93] See *Works*, iii. 86–7; Vasari, *ed. cit.*, vol. iv, pp. 260–1.

[94] See *Works*, iii. 101; Vasari, *ed. cit.*, vol. v, pp. 135 ff.

cana e per l'Italia, e quel Ré giudicandoli miracolosi, lo premiò con doni continui e gli ordinò provisione di 400 scudi l'anno, e gli diede commodità che fabricaſse un' habitatione honorata alle spese proprie del Ré; was killéd by a cannon shot at the siege of Boulogne in Picardy, aged thirty-six, A.D. 1544.

V. 2, p. 534. Bastiano Aristotile da Sangallo, a copyist of Rafael and Michel Angelo, many of his pictures sent to England[95], died in 1553, aged seventy-eight.

V. 2, p. 131. Benedetto da Rovezzano[96]. Fu ultimamente condotto in Inghilterra a' servigi del Ré, al quale fece molti lavori di marmo e di bronzo, e particolarmente la sua sepoltura. He returned to Florence, and lost his sight in 1550, he was also an architect.

V. 2, p. 354. Toto del Nunziata[97], a scholar of Ridolpho Ghirlandaio, aggiugnendo col tempo a paragone con i belli ingegni, partì di Fiorenza, e con alcuni Mercanti Fiorentini condottosi in Inghilterra quivi ha fatto tutte l'opere sue, e dal Ré di quella Provincia (il quale ha anco servito nell' architettura, e fatto particolarmente il principale palazzo) é stato riconosciuto grandiſsimamente. He was a cotemporary of Perin del Vaga, who died in 1547, aged forty-seven, so that this king was probably Henry the Sixth.

In Greenwich Church (Stowe, v. ii, p. 91).

95 Vasari, *ed. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 437.

96 See *Works*, iii. 91; Vasari, *ed. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 535.

97 Vasari, in his life of Perino del Vaga, *ed. cit.*, vol. v, p. 590. For *Toto*, which is the correct reading (see Letter 216), Mitford prints *Zoto*.

Roberto Adams[98], Operum Regiorum[99] Supervisori Architecturæ peritiſsimo, ob. 1595.

Simon Basil, Operationum Regiarum[99] Controrotulator[99], posuit 1601.

St. Martin's in the Fields.

Nicholas Stone[100], Sculptor and Architectus. He was Master mason to his Majesty, ob. 1647.

216. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Southampt: Row[1]. anno 1[mo] Geo: 3[ii].

[November, 1760][2]

S[r]

I HAVE call'd two or three times at your house, but had not the luck to find you. I had in my pocket half a dozen Artisans for your book[3] (tho' perhaps you may be already acquainted with them) they are Susan Hurembout, Levina Benich, two Paintreſses in miniature, Torreggiano Torreggiani, Girolamo da Trevigi, Benedetto da Rovezzano, & Toto del

[98] See *Works*, iii. 137–8.

[99] Mitford: 'Regiarum'; 'Regiorum'; 'Controtrotulator'.

[100] See *Works*, iii. 164–70. Nicholas Stone, the elder (1586–1647), among other works designed and executed the porch of St. Mary's, and the gates of the Botanic Garden, at Oxford.

LETTER 216.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] See Letter 215, n. 8.

[2] The date was probably the end of October or beginning of November, as the letter was evidently written just after the death of George II (25 Oct. 1760) and accession of George III.

[3] The *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. The notes referred to (the result of researches at the British Museum) are those contained in the previous letter (begun on 2 Sept. 1760), which was obviously written in instalments, and which Gray it appears had now called to deliver in person to Walpole.

Nunziata, Architects, Sculptors, & Painters, all of them employ'd in England by Henry 8th [4].

I wanted to ask also, if you would have the Wyatt-Papers [5] now, as they are, that is, uncompared with the originals, & perhaps incorrect. I am

Yours

T G:

I hope, the new Reign [6] agrees with you.

Folded as a note, and addressed: To
The Honble Horace Walpole.

217. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[December, 1760] [1]

I HAVE been very ill this week with a great cold and a fever, and though now in a way to be well, am like to be confined some days longer: whatever you will send me that is new, or old, and *long*, will

[4] Gray derived his information as to these 'architects, sculptors and painters' from Vasari (see Letter 215, *ad fin.*).

[5] See Letter 215, n. 32.

[6] See n. 2.

LETTER 217.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, p. 399.

[1] Date conjectural; it is fixed approximately by the reference to the *Nouvelle Héloïse* (see n. 2); by Mason's reference to the same work in his letter to Gray of 8 Jan. 1761; and by Gray's letter to Mason of 22 Jan. 1761, in which he refers to his cold: 'I wish I had been at Aston when I was foolish enough to go through the six volumes of the Nouvelle Heloise. All that I can say for myself is, that I was confined at home for three weeks by a severe cold, and had nothing better to do.'

be received as a charity. Rouſseau's people[2] do not interest me; there is but one character and one style in them all, I do not know their faces asunder. I have no esteem for their persons or conduct, am not touched with their paſsions; and as to their story, I do not believe a word of it—not because it is improbable, but because it is absurd. If I had any little propensity, it was to Julie; but now she has gone and (so hand over head) married that monsieur de Wolmar, I take her for a *vraie Suiſseſse*, and do not doubt but she had taken a cup too much, like her lover[3]. All this does not imply that I will not read it out, when you can spare the rest of it.

218. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I WAS hindred yesterday, till I thought it would be too late to send for the papers.

If you are alone & not busy, I should hope for a miniature of the Q:[1] in three strokes, exceſsively like.

Thursday [Sept. 10, 1761][2]

Folded as a note, and addressed: To Mr. Walpole.

[2] In his *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*, published this year (1760) in six volumes.

[3] Saint-Preux; see *Partie* i, *Lettre* 50; and *Partie* ii, *Lettre* 26.

LETTER 218.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The Queen—Charlotte Sophia (1744–1818), daughter of Charles Louis, Prince of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; she reached England on Monday, 7 Sept. 1761, and was married to George III in the evening of Sept. 8; the next day (Wednesday) there was a levée and a drawing-room, at which Horace Walpole was presented to the Queen (see his letter to Conway, 9 Sept. 1761).

[2] Gray writes the day after Walpole had seen the Queen.

219. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I HAVE been in impatience eversince I saw your advertisement[1], & should have reminded you of your promise, had I not believed you would not forget me. I beg my copy may not be sewed (or at least not bound) because I intend to interleave it.

The Fly sets out for Cambridge every day from the

LETTER 219.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] A newspaper cutting, dated Jan. 1762, containing the following advertisement, is pasted in Walpole's MS. *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry hill* (see Letter 204, n. 1):

The Beginning of February will be published,
In Small Quarto, Price Thirty Shillings,
Printed at STRAWBERRY-HILL,

ANECDOTES of PAINTING in ENGLAND, with incidental Notes on other Arts, collected by the late Mr. GEORGE VERTUE, and now first digested and published from his original Manuscripts,

By Mr. HORACE WALPOLE
VOL. I. and II.

With above forty Copper-plates, four of which are taken from ancient Paintings; the rest, Heads of Artists, engraved by Grignion, Muller, Chambers, and Bannerman.

To be had of W. Bathoe, Bookseller, in the Strand, near Exeter Exchange.

Gray displayed unusual interest in this work. Writing to Montagu on 24 Nov. 1760, from Strawberry Hill, Walpole says: 'I am come to put my *Anecdotes of Painting* into the press. You are one of the few that I expect will be entertained with it. It has warmed Gray's coldness so much, that he is violent about it.' The two volumes were not actually published until Feb. 15. (See Letter 215 n.)

Queens-Head in Gray's Inn Lane, & I am afraid there is no other conveyance, that comes from any place nearer to your house. I am

Yours ever

T GRAY.

[Cambridge], Thursday. Feb: 11. 1762[2]

220. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Sunday, February 28, 1762.

I RETURN you my best thanks for the copy of your book[1], which you sent me, and have not at all leſsened my opinion of it since I read it in print[2], though the preſs has in general[3] a bad effect on the complection of one's works. The engravings look, as you say, better than I had expected, yet not altogether so well as I could wish. I rejoice in the good dispositions of our court, and in the propriety of their application to you: the work is a thing so much to be wished; has so near a connection with the turn of your studies and of your curiosity; and might find such ample materials among your hoards and in your head; that it will be a sin if you let it drop and come to nothing, or worse than nothing, for want of your aſsistance[4]. The historical part should be in the

[2] On the back of the original Walpole has jotted a list of names, among them that of Gray, evidently of people to whom the book was to be sent.

LETTER 220.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 399-403.

[1] The first two volumes of *Anecdotes of Painting*, published on Feb. 15 (see Letter 219, n. 1).

[2] Gray had read the work in MS. (see Letter 215 n.).

[3] Gosse, Tovey: 'has generally'.

[4] Miss Berry refers to the following letter of Lord Bute (at this time Secretary of State) to Walpole, who had sent him a copy of his work: 'Lord Bute presents

manner of Henault[5], a mere abridgement, a series of facts selected with judgment, that may serve as a clue to lead the mind along in the midst of those ruins and scattered monuments of art, that time has spared[6]. This would be sufficient, and better than Montfaucon's[7] more diffuse narrative. Such a work

his compliments to Mr. Walpole, and returns him a thousand thanks for the very agreeable present he has made him. In looking over it, lord Bute observes Mr. Walpole has mixed several curious remarks on the customs, &c. of the times he treats of; a thing much wanted, and that has never yet been executed, except in parts by Peck, &c. Such a general work would be not only very agreeable, but instructive:—the French have attempted it; the Russians are about it; and lord Bute has been informed, that Mr. Walpole is well furnished with materials for such a noble work.' (*Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, p. 378.) In his reply, dated 15 Feb. 1762, Walpole expresses his readiness to be of use 'in collecting or pointing out materials', and to 'take any trouble in aiding, supervising, or directing such a plan', but he declines to 'undertake the part of composition'; and he explains, further, that the expense would be 'too great for a private fortune'.

5 Charles Jean François Hénault (1685–1770), of the French Academy, Président au Parlement, and Controller of the Household to Queen Mary Leszczynska, wife of Louis XV. He published in 1744 an *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, in two volumes, comprising the history of France from the earliest times down to the death of Louis XIV. He was an intimate friend of Madame du Deffand, at whose house Walpole subsequently (in 1765) made his acquaintance. In return for attentions received from him in Paris, Walpole in 1768 printed at Strawberry Hill Hénault's tragedy, *Cornélie, Vestale*.

6 This method Mr. Walpole had already adopted before he received his friend's letter; for a large memorandum-book of his is extant, with this title-page: Collections for a History of the Manners, Customs, Habits, Fashions, Ceremonies, &c. &c. &c. of England, Begun February 21, 1762, by Mr. Horace Walpole. *Berry*.—An alphabetical list of subjects to be treated of in this projected work is printed by Miss Berry from Walpole's memorandum-book as an appendix to this note.

7 Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741); his *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise* was published in five folio volumes, 1729–33.

(I have heard) Mr. Burke[8] is now employed about, which though not intended for this purpose might be applied perhaps to this use. Then at the end of each reign should come a disertation[9] explanatory of the plates, and pointing out the turn of thought, the customs, ceremonials, arms, dresses, luxury, and private life, with the improvement or decline of the arts during that period. This you must do yourself, beside taking upon you the superintendence, direction, and choice of materials. As to the expence, that must be the king's own entirely, and he must give the book to foreign ministers and people of note; for it is obvious no private man can undertake such a thing without a subscription, and no gentleman will care for such an expedient; and a gentleman it should be, because he must have easy access to archives, cabinets, and collections of all sorts. I protest I do not think it impossible but they may give into such a scheme: they approve the design, they wish to encourage the arts and to be magnificent, and they have no Versailles or Herculaneum[10].

I hope to see you toward the end of March. If you bestow a line on me, pray tell me whether the

[8] Edmund Burke (1729–97); the work referred to by Gray was no doubt his *Abridgment of the History of England*, of which the first portion had been printed in 1757, though the complete work was not published until after Burke's death. The first volume of the *Annual Register*, which was conducted by Burke, appeared in 1759.

[9] Gosse, Tovey: 'should come to a dissertation'.

[10] The publication by the Accademia Ercolanese of *Le Pitture ed i Bronzi d'Ercolano*, eventually completed in 8 vols. in 1792, had been begun in 1757.

baronne de la Peyriere [11] is gone to her castle of Viry [12]; and whether Fingal [13] be discovered or shrewdly suspected to be a forgery. Adieu!

I am yours ever,

T. GRAY.

221. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[December, 1762][1]

COMMANDING Beauty smooth'd by chearful grace
Sat on each open feature of his face.
Bold was his language, rapid, glowing, strong,

[11] Formerly Miss Speed (see Letter 209, n. 1).

[12] 'In Savoy, a few miles from Geneva, commanding a fine view of the Lake' (Gray to Wharton, Jan. 1762).

[13] Macpherson's *Fingal* had been published in the previous December. Walpole, writing to Montagu on 8 Dec. 1761, says of it: '*Fingal* is come out . . . I will trust you with a secret, but you must not disclose it, I should be ruined with my Scotch friends—in short, I cannot believe it genuine—I cannot believe a regular poem of six books has been preserved, uncorrupted, by oral tradition, from times before Christianity was introduced into the island.' Gray could not make up his mind; in his letter to Wharton of Jan. 1762 he says: 'I remain still in doubt about the authenticity of those poems; though inclining rather to believe them genuine in spite of the World.'

LETTER 221.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date is determined by the fact that, according to Walpole's *Short Notes*, his lines on Lord Granville, a corrected version of which Gray encloses in this letter, were written in December 1762 ('Dec. 23rd, wrote a portrait of Lord Granville, in verse, to serve as an epitaph for him'). The lines were sent to Mann in Walpole's letter of 28 Jan. 1763, in which he refers to them as 'the enclosed lines on Lord Granville, which I wrote last year'. John Carteret (1690–1763), second Earl Granville, died on 2 Jan. 1763. In the note appended to the version of these lines printed in *Works of Lord Orford* (vol. i, p. 31), it is

And science flow'd spontaneous from his tongue:
A Genius big with system, slighting rules!
Gall he had none, but boundleſs scorn of Fools.
Ambition lent her flambeau to his hand,
And Bacchus sprinkled fuel on the brand.
His wish to counsel Monarchs or controul;
His only means—the ardour of his soul!
Down came at once the fabrick of his pride,
Yet slightly-built diffused no ruin wide;
Unhurt, undaunted, undisturb'd, he fell[2]
Could laugh the same, & the same stories tell[2]:
Tho' headlong from his airy scaffold hurl'd,
He held his bottle fast, & drop'd the World[3].

stated that they were written immediately after Lord Granville's death in 1763; but in view of Walpole's own statements, this is manifestly incorrect. In his MS. *Journal* (see Letter 204, n. 1) Walpole records: '1763. Jan. 10th. printed about 30 copies of the portrait of Ld Granville'—an item which is not mentioned in any of the printed accounts of the Strawberry Hill Press.

[2] These two lines are marked with + in the original.

[3] On a rough draft of these lines in Gray's handwriting, preserved with this letter, Walpole has written, 'Mr Grays correction of my lines on Ld Granville'. In this draft, as an alternative to the last line, Gray wrote:

'He hug'd his bottle, tho' he drop'd the World.'

Preserved with the same letter is the following draft in Walpole's own hand, a comparison of which with the printed version shows that Walpole adopted several of Gray's 'corrections':

PORTRAIT
OF LORD GRANVILLE.

Commanding Beauty, smooth'd by chearfull Grace,
Sat on each opening feature of his Face:
Bold was his language, rapid, glowing, strong;
And Science flow'd spontaneous from his tongue.
With Genius, seizing systems, slighting rules,
And, void of gall, with boundleſs scorn of Fools.
Ambition dealt her flambeau to his hand,
And Bacchus aided to illume the brand.
His Wish, to council Monarchs or controul;

ERRATUM

Vol. ii, page 214, note 1, *ad fin.*

Dele: —an item which is not mentioned in any of the printed accounts of the Strawberry Hill Press.

I make no excuses for the four lines I have omitted[4]. there are two more[5] I could not find in my heart to omitt (good reason why!) & yet think it would be better, if they were not there.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street.

222. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Pemb: Hall. Sept: 12. 1763.

S^r^ W: Herbert's Book[1] I can learn nothing about.

His means?—th' impetuous ardour of his soul;
For Prudence, daring not to eye his aim,
Lent not a pop-gun to bring down the game.
Swift too the scaffold of his airy pride
Fell—but slight-built, diffus'd no ruin wide.
Unhurt, undaunted, undisturb'd, He fell;
Coud laugh the same,. & the same stories tell:
And more a Sage than He, who bad await
His revels, till his conquests were compleat,
Our jovial Statesman either sail unfurl'd,
And drank his bottle, tho He mis's'd the World.

[4] Gray's 'corrected' version contains sixteen lines, as against Walpole's twenty.

[5] Presumably the two lines marked with + in the original (see n. 2).

LETTER 222.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection. This letter was evidently written in reply to a number of queries from Walpole in connexion with the *Autobiography* of Lord Herbert of Cherbury (see n. 13), which Walpole was preparing to print for the first time at Strawberry Hill from a MS. in the possession of Lord Herbert's descendant, the Earl of Powis. In the MS. *Journal* already quoted (see Letter 204, n. 1) Walpole records: '1763. Sept. 23. began to print Ld Herbert's life, 200 copies. — Jan. 27. 1764. finished Lord Herbert's life.' In nearly every case the information supplied by Gray has been embodied by Walpole *totidem verbis* in the notes of his edition.

[1] No doubt *A Letter written by a trve Christian Catholike to a Romaine pretended Catholike, vppon*

Milium Solis[2] (with a single *l*) is the Plant we call *Gromwell*, or *Gray-mill*, in Italian *Miglio del sole*.

Antidotaries usually make a part of the old Dispensatories: for when Poisons were in fashion, Antidotes were equally so[3].

Joseph: Quercetanus[4] publish'd a *Pharmacopœia Dogmaticorum restituta*, 1607. 4^to^. Paris:

Bricius Bauderonus[5]. *Pharmacopœia, & Praxis Medica.* 1620. Paris.

Joannes Renadæus[6]. *Dispensatorium Medicum, & Antidotarium.* 1609. 4^to^. Paris.

Valerius Cordus[7]. *Dispensatorium.* Antw: 1568.

Joannes Fernelius[8] (Physician to Henry 2^d^ of France, I think) *Opera Medicinalia, & Universa Medicina.* 1564. 4^to^, & 1577. Fol:

occasion of Controuersie touching the Catholike Church; the 12, 13, and 14 chapters of the Reuelations are breifly and trulie expounded (London, 1586), by Sir William Herbert (d. 1593), which is quoted by Lord Herbert (who married Sir William Herbert's daughter) in his *Autobiography* as 'an Exposition upon the Revelations' (see *Life of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by Himself*, ed. 1826, p. 43).

[2] 'Posset-drinks of herbs, as milium solis, saxifrigia, &c.' (*Life*, *ed. cit.*, p. 46).

[3] Quoted *verbatim* in *Life*, p. 59 n.

[4] Joseph Duchesne, in Latin Quercetanus (*c.* 1544–1609), physician to Henry IV of France (*Life*, p. 60 n.).

[5] Brice Bauderon (*c.* 1540–1623), French physician (*Life*, p. 60 n.).

[6] Jean de Renou (fl. 1600), of Coutances (*Life*, p. 60 n.), author of *Institutionum Pharmaceuticarum Libri v, De Materia Medica Libri iii, et Antidotarium*, published at Hanover in 1631. A translation of *Renodæus's His Dispensatory: containing the whole Body of Pharmacy*, by Richard Tomlinson, Apothecary, in which Renodæus is described as 'Chief Physician to the Monarch of France', was published in 1657.

[7] Valerius Cordus (1515–44), German physician (*Life*, p. 60 n.).

[8] Jean Fernel (1497–1558), chief physician to Henry II of France (*Life*, p. 61 n.).

Ludov: Mercatus[9] (Physician to Philip 2[d] & 3[d] of Spain) *Opera Medica & Chirurgica.* Fol: Francof: 1620.

Daniel Sennnertus[10]. *Institutiones Medicinæ.* 1620.

Joannes Heurnius[11]. (same title) 1597. Lugduni.

The word wanting is *Disease* (I imagine). least *it* (the making the body proof to any one distemper) should be thought to have made *it* (the body) *no leſs than a prison to the soul*[12], w[ch] would thereby have one way the leſs to escape from its confinement. this, you will say, is nonsense: that is not our fault, but my L[d] Herberts[13], who had learnt from the Platonists.

Galeteus is *Il Galateo*, a famous little work of Monsignor Giov: della Casa[14] on the rules of Good-manners, that is, Good-breeding & Behaviour.

What *S[t] Islée*[15] should be, I know not; & you do

[9] Luis de Mercado (*c.* 1520–*c.* 1606) of Valladolid (*Life*, p. 61 n.).

[10] Daniel Sennert (1572–1637), of Breslau, professor of medicine at Wittemberg (*Life*, p. 61 n.).

[11] Jan van Heurn (1543–1601), Dutch physician, professor of medicine at Leyden (*Life*, p. 61 n.).

[12] 'I must no less commend the study of anatomy, which whosoever considers, I believe will never be an atheist; the frame of man's body and coherence of his parts being so strange and paradoxal, that I hold it to be the greatest miracle of nature; though when all is done, I do not find she hath made it so much as proof against one disease, lest it should be thought to have made it no less than a prison to the soul' (*Life*, p. 64).

[13] Edward Herbert (1583–1648), first Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

[14] Giovanni della Casa (1503–66), Archbishop of Benevento (1544); his *Galateo*, of which an English translation by Robert Peterson was published in 1576, was first printed at Venice in 1558. Lord Herbert apparently refers to a Latin translation (of which there were several), since he quotes the work as 'Galeteus de Moribus' (*Life*, p. 90).

[15] 'Probably a blunder of the transcriber for Chantilly' (*Life*, p. 119 n.).

not tell, in what part of France it seems to lie. *Alet*[16] belong'd (I believe) to the Montmorencies; but it runs in my head, that they had an estate at S^t^ Hilaire[17]: perhaps you may find in Sully's Memoirs. after all I gueſs, it is *Chantilly*[18], w^ch^ was theirs.

Rees[19] lies in the Dutchy of Cleve very near Emerick.

Do I know any more Spanish than you? *Nó ay* is what I doubt about: the rest should be *fuerça por las Reynas*[20].

The other bit of Spanish seems right, for *cada uno* (so written separate) is *chacun*, *haga* is *faſse*, & *Amo* is *Maitre*[21].

I can not find *Tieleners*[22] or any name like it in the list of Grotius'[23] Friends or Correspondents. if any where, you will find it in Burigny's Life of him not long since publish'd[24], & w^ch^ I conclude, you have.

If you are well & good-humour'd, you will tell me a little news. how comes L^d^ Sh:[25] to resign? is the

[16] On the Aude, in the present Department of Aude, about fifteen miles south of Carcassonne, the seat of a bishopric.

[17] In the diocese of Carcassonne, about four miles north of Alet.

[18] In the present Department of Oise, about twenty miles north of Paris.

[19] In what is now Rhenish Prussia, on the Rhine about eighteen miles below Emmerich, and about twenty east of Cleve (*Life*, p. 171 n.).

[20] See *Life*, p. 283.

[21] See *Life*, p. 249.

[22] See Letter 223, n. 4.

[23] Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), the celebrated Dutch publicist and statesman.

[24] Published at Paris, in 2 vols. 8vo, in 1752.

[25] Lord Shelburne—William Petty (1737–1805), second Earl of Shelburne (1761), later (1784) first Marquis of Lansdowne; he was President of the Board of Trade in the Grenville ministry from April 20 to September 4 of this year, on which date he resigned

tragical speech, that concluded a late conference[26], any thing like truth? the present times are so little like any thing I remember, that you may excuse my curiosity: besides I really interest myself in these transactions, & can not persuade myself, that Quæ supra nos, nihil ad nos. I shall be in Town the middle of October, I believe. I am

Yours ever.

223. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge, Sept. 19, 1763]

POSITIVELY I can make nothing of *S^t Islee*[2], & thought myself sure, it was Chantilly; & even believe so still, not having the book before me.

To be sure I look'd in Grotius' Epistles the first thing I did: he writes to no body with a name at all similar. but in the little book of this L^d Herberts

his office, on the failure of the intrigue in which he had been employed by Bute, with the object of displacing Grenville, and bringing back Pitt and the Bedford connexion. In a letter to Mann of Sept. 13, Walpole writes: 'Lord Shelburne has resigned . . . Many reasons are given, but the only one people choose to take is, that, thinking M^r Pitt must be minister, and finding himself tolerably obnoxious to him, he is seeking to make his peace at any rate.'

[26] This probably refers to 'the dialogue in the closet' between the King and Pitt to which Walpole alludes in the letter to Mann above quoted. (See his *Memoirs of Reign of George III*, ed. 1894, vol. i, pp. 230 ff.)

LETTER 223.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The place, and date of the month, are supplied by the postmark; the date of the year is obviously the same as that of the previous letter, in which the same subjects are discussed.

[2] See Letter 222, n. 15.

Verses, publish'd by the *Divine Herbert*[3] after his death, is a thing addreſsed, to *Tilenus after the fatal defluxion upon my arm.* Now *Daniel Tilenus*[4] was a great theological Writer of that time: he wrote *about Anti-christ,* & *Animadversions on the Synod of Dort,* &c: & some of his works were publish'd (I see) at Paris. he was however a Silesian, & his true name might well be *Tieleners*; & as Grotius was also a deep Divine, he might well be acquainted with him, as well as L[d] Herbert.

Do not lay your learning upon me, for I no more desire the title of *Clariſsimus* & *Celeberrimus,* than you do. a Collecter of Antiquities, whose work (yet un-publish'd) I have before me, cites you under the name of *the lively Editor of the* Cat: of Noble Authors. will that satisfy you better?

I give you many thanks for your political riddles: before I print them, I shall send you a List of my doubts & difficulties, for I don't understand a word of the matter. I wonder, you should think folly leſs entertaining than wisdom. you, who live next door to the Theatre, may be as fastidious as you please,

[3] George Herbert (1593–1633), poet and divine, author of *A Priest to the Temple,* a younger brother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Gray appears to be in error in attributing to him the editorship of Lord Herbert's poems, which were published ('Occasional Verses of Edward Lord Herbert, Baron of Cherbury') in 1665 by another brother, Sir Henry Herbert (1595–1673). The poem in question ('In Answer to Tilenus, when I had that fatal Defluxion in my Hand,' p. 90) is in Latin elegiacs.

[4] Born at Goldberg in Silesia in 1563; died at Paris in 1633; he went to France about the year 1590, and was naturalized by Henry IV. Gray was correct in his conjecture that Tilenus was the person referred to by Lord Herbert.

& disdain to cast an eye on Garrick[5] above once in a year. I, who live in the country, am excusable, if I go every night to see a troop of Strollers in a barn, as long as they stay. Adieu, I am ever

Yours.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: ROYS 20
TON SE

224. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge] Jan: 27 . . . 1764.

I THANK you for remembring me, & am impatient for the books[1]: the nearest place you can send them to is the Queen's Head Inn in Grays-Inn Lane, from whence the Cambridge Fly sets out, & brings parcels (I believe) daily.

[5] Garrick had left England with his wife shortly before the date of this letter, and remained abroad until April, 1765. He did not reappear at Drury Lane until the following Nov. 14.

LETTER 224.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] These were, no doubt, the third volume of the *Anecdotes of Painting*, and the *Catalogue of Engravers* (see Walpole to Sir David Dalrymple, 31 Jan. 1764: 'I am now publishing the third volume of my *Anecdotes of Painting*, and another of Engravers. I wish you would be so kind as to tell me how I may convey them speedily to you'). The former had been completed as long before as 8 Oct. 1762 (see Letter 215 n.); as regards the latter, Walpole records in his MS. *Journal* already quoted (see Letter 204, n. 1): '1762. Oct. 9^th^. began the volume of Engravers.—1763. . . . May 9^th^. finished the volume of Engravers.' The two volumes were not published till Feb. 6 of this year, as

Kidgell[2] (I hear) to my sorrow has escaped baiting: I comfort myself with the thoughts, that he will soon have some Prebend, or more conspicuous dignity in

appears from the following announcement contained in a newspaper-cutting, so dated by Walpole, and pasted in his MS. *Journal*:

This Day is published,

In small Quarto, Price 1l. 10s. Printed at Strawberry-Hill,

ANECDOTES of PAINTING in ENGLAND, with incidental Notes on other Arts, collected by the late Mr. GEORGE VERTUE, and now first digested and published from his original Manuscripts,

By Mr. HORACE WALPOLE.

Volume III. and

A Catalogue of Engravers, who have been born or resided in England. To which is added, an Account of the Life and Works of Mr. VERTUE: With above 46 Copper Plates, engraved by Walker, Bannerman, and Chambers.

To be had of W. Bathoe, Bookseller in the Strand, near Exeter Exchange.

[2] John Kidgell, the infamous parson, chaplain to Lord March, who shortly before this date, through the treachery of one of Wilkes' printers, had secured proof-sheets of Wilkes' 'bawdy and blasphemous' *Essay on Woman* (see Walpole to Mann, 17 Nov. 1763), and thus furnished Lord Sandwich with the material for his indictment of Wilkes in the House of Lords (15 Nov. 1763). The public indignation against Sandwich for this shameful betrayal of his former associate 'went so far, that the *Beggar's Opera* being performed at Covent Garden Theatre soon after this event, the whole audience, when Macheath says, *That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me, I own surprises me*, burst out into an applause of application; and the nick-name of *Jemmy Twitcher* stuck by the Earl so as almost to occasion the disuse of his title' (Walpole, *Memoirs of Reign of George III*, ed. 1894, vol. i, p. 249). Kidgell attempted to justify himself by publishing *A genuine and succinct Narrative of a scandalous, obscene, and exceedingly profane Libel, entitled 'An Essay on Woman'* (1763), which 'completely blasted his reputation'. On

the Church, for I am persuaded the worst thing, that can befall a Rascal (& especially a Parson) is to attain the height of his wishes.

The B^p^[3] has vanity enough to make him feel at some time or other, what Posterity will think of him: but who can damn the Devil? he continues his temptations here with so much aſsiduity, that I conclude he is not absolutely sure of succeſs yet. his leading Partisans, tho' not ashamed of themselves, are yet heartily ashamed of him, & would give their ears, it were any other devil, but he. yet he would be chose at present, I have little doubt, tho' with strong opposition[4], & in a dishonorable way for him. yet I have some gleams of hope, for it is in the power of one Man to prevent it, if he will stand the brunt; and ——

the failure of Lord Sandwich to obtain preferment for him, he had to fly the country to avoid his creditors, and died abroad.

[3] Edmund Keene, Bishop of Chester (see Letter 196, n. 10). What follows relates to the approaching election (on the anticipated death of Lord Hardwicke) for the High-Stewardship of Cambridge University, for which office John Montagu (1718–92), fourth Earl of Sandwich, at this time Secretary of State, was a candidate (see Letter 226, n. 7). That Keene was the Bishop in question is evident from Gray's letter to Wharton of 29 April 1765, in which, after discussing the decision as to the result of the election (which was disputed), he says: 'I suppose you know by this time, that our Friend the B: of Ch: was the private Embassador of L^d^ Sandwich to this place, & made proposals in his name.'

[4] 'This silly dirty Place has had all its thoughts taken up with chusing a new High-Steward, and had not Lord Hardwick surprisingly & to the shame of the faculty recover'd by a Quack-medicine, I believe in my conscience the noble Earl of Sandwich had been chosen, tho' (let me do them the justice to say) not without considerable opposition' (Gray to Wharton, from Cambridge, 21 Feb. 1764).

Do, oblige me with a change in the Ministry: I mean, something one may tell, that looks as if it were near at hand; or if there is no truth to be had, then a good likely falsehood for the same purpose. I am sorry to be so reduced.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: ROYS 28
TON IA

225. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge] Tuesday [Jan. 31. 1764][1]

AND so I must stay two, if not three days longer for my books[2]! they are to come by the *Cambridge Fly*, w^ch^ sets out from the *Queen's Head in Grey's-Inn Lane*. M^r^ Mason is here, but talks of going to London tomorrow, where he will be at L^d^ Delaware's[3] House.

All letters to & from this place, that seem to

LETTER 225.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark, which, though blurred, is almost certainly Feb. 1 (Wednesday); that of the year is determined by the reference to the books mentioned in the last letter (see n. 2).

[2] See Letter 224, n. 1.

[3] John West (1693–1766), seventh Baron, first Earl De la Warr (1761).

promise any thing, are open'd (I hear) at the Gen: Post-Office.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London.

Postmark: SAFFRON I
WALDEN FE[4]

226. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge] March . . Sunday [1764][1]

YOU had received an answer to your last letter sooner, had I been able to write: but I have been very ill for near a month[2], & this is the first day, that I have breath'd the open air. I do not believe, I can give you any satisfaction as to the Provençal poetry. Italy & France abound in such Manuscripts, but we (I believe) have little of the kind among us left: at least I remember no such article in our Libraries. as to Eglisham's Pamphlet[3] I have formerly read it here, & think, I know, where it is: Baker's[4] Extract is only

[4] See n. 1.

LETTER 226.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the references to Eglisham's pamphlet, and to the Cambridge election (see nn. 3, 7). Sundays in March 1764 were on the 4th, 11th, 18th, 25th.

[2] See letters to Wharton of Feb. 21 and July 10, for the nature of his malady.

[3] George Eglisham, a Scotch physician, published in 1626 a pamphlet, entitled *Prodromus Vindictae* (translated into English as *The Forerunner of Vengeance*), in which he accused the Duke of Buckingham of having caused the deaths, by poison, of James I and the Marquis of Hamilton. Walpole mentions the pamphlet in his letter to Cole of 3 March 1764, and adds, 'This piece I must get transcribed by Mr Gray's assistance'.

[4] Thomas Baker (1656–1740), Cambridge antiquary, who left

a part of it relating to K: James's death[5], but there is more of it (as I remember) about the Marq:[ss] Hamilton[6] worth transcribing. if the facts are true, it is curious; & you shall have it soon.

I received your books & former letter unrifled, & thank you much for them. the Anti-Twitcherites[7] are numerous & sanguine, & make themselves sure of throwing him out, whatever becomes of their own

forty-two folio volumes of MSS. His *Life* was subsequently (1778) written by Walpole from materials supplied by Cole (see *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, pp. 339–62).

[5] See n. 3.

[6] James Hamilton (1589–1625), second Marquis of Hamilton (see n. 3).

[7] The opponents of Lord Sandwich, popularly known as 'Jemmy Twitcher' (see Letter 224, n. 2), who was standing for the High-Stewardship of Cambridge University, which became vacant on March 6 of this year (1764) on the death of the first Earl of Hardwicke (see Letter 37, n. 13). Sandwich's opponent was Hardwicke's son, Philip Yorke (1720–90), second Earl. The election, which took place on March 30, resulted in an equality of votes, but each side claimed a majority of one (see Walpole to Lord Hertford, 27 March, and 5 April; and to Mann, 9 April, 1764). Eventually the matter was referred to the King's Bench and decided in favour of Lord Hardwicke (see Gray to Wharton, 29 April 1765), who held the office until his death. Gray took an active part in opposing Sandwich, and during the election produced the following squib, a copy of which in Gray's handwriting was unearthed by Walpole ten years later (see letter to Mason of 16 Sept. 1774):

THE CANDIDATE:

OR, THE CAMBRIDGE COURTSHIP

When sly Jemmy Twitcher had smugg'd up his face,
With a lick of court white-wash, and pious grimace,
A wooing he went, where three sisters of old
In harmless society guttle and scold.
'Lord! sister,' says Physick to Law, 'I declare,
Such a sheep-biting look, such a pick-pocket air!
Not I for the Indies:—You know I'm no prude,—
But his nose is a shame,—and his eyes are so lewd!
Then he shambles and straddles so oddly—I fear—
No—at our time of life 'twould be silly, my dear.'

Candidate: but as they are nearly equal, I doubt his L^p^ has some trick left to turn the scale.

You are very perverse & mysterious about your discoveries: but I hope to be satisfied next month.

'I don't know,' says Law, 'but methinks for his look,
'Tis just like the picture in Rochester's book*;
Then his character, Phyzzy,—his morals—his life—
When she died, I can't tell, but he once had a wife†.
They say he's no Christian, loves drinking and whoring,
And all the town rings of his swearing and roaring!
His lying and filching, and Newgate-bird tricks;—
Not I—for a coronet, chariot and six.'
Divinity‡ heard, between waking and dozing,
Her sisters denying, and Jemmy proposing:
From table she rose, and with bumper in hand,
She strok'd up her belly, and strok'd down her band—
'What a pother is here about wenching and roaring!
Why! David lov'd catches‖, and Solomon whoring:
Did not Israel filch from th' Egyptians of old
Their jewels of silver and jewels of gold?
The prophet of Bethel, we read, told a lie:
He drinks—so did Noah; he swears—so do I:
To reject him for such peccadillos, were odd;
Besides, he repents—for he talks about God—
[*To* Jemmy]
Never hang down your head, you poor penitent elf,
Come buss me—I'll be Mrs Twitcher myself.'

* * * .
* * * §

* An allusion to Sandwich's likeness to Ld. R. his [great-]grandfather. ['Rochester's book' was probably Burnet's *Some Passages of the Life and Death of John, Earl of Rochester* (1680), to which was prefixed Rochester's portrait engraved by R. White.] (The preceding and following notes were communicated to the Editor by the late Hon. James A. Home, from a copy of Gray's poem made by his grandmother, Lady Montagu.)

† Lady S. was confined as a lunatic; his enemies said that Ld. S. kept her in confinement after she recovered.

‡ The Country clergy were Ld. S.'s great supporters in his candidature for the High-Stewardship.

‖ Lord S. was founder of the Catch Club.

§ The concluding couplet is too gross to give. *Mitford.*

you never said a word about Mr B:y's[8] *Patriotism*: I hope no body found out, how good some of it is. has he made his market by it?[9]

227. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Pemb: Coll: Sunday [April 15, 1764][1]

I EXIST, tho' it is but of late, that I walk again on two legs after a gentle fit of the gout, that held me for six weeks. in about a fortnight I shall be in town, but had rather not stay so long for a sight of your new edition[2], & should wish, if you have a copy to spare, that you would send it me hither.

Mr B:[3], since he was in the ministry, has taken advice of no one, but perhaps his Brother-ministers. Patriotism appears again with all its old faults on its head, even to the Dutchess of Marlborough's striped

[8] Richard Bentley—his *Patriotism, A Mock-Heroic. In Five Cantos*, had been published (anonymously) in the previous year.

[9] He did, not long after; for Walpole writes to Montagu on June 18: 'Mr Bentley's servile poem is rewarded with 160*l.* a year in the Post Office.' Walpole's friendship with Bentley had come to an end several years before this date.

LETTER 227.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the month is supplied by the postmark; that of the year is determined by the references to Walpole's 'new edition' and to Bentley (see nn. 2, 3).

[2] Of the *Anecdotes of Painting*; in his MS. *Journal* Walpole records: '1763. May 23d began to reprint the Anecdotes of painting. — Sept. 22d. finished the first volume. . . . — 1764. Jan. 30th. began to reprint the 2d Vol. of the Anecdotes.' The new edition was not actually published until more than three years after this date, owing to trouble with the printers, and to Walpole's absence from England (9 Sept. 1765 to 22 April 1766): '1765. March 18. took T. Kirgate, a new Printer, & continued reprinting of the Anecdotes. — Aug. 24. finished everything, & discharged Printer, as I was going abroad. — 1767. 2d Edition of the Anecdotes of Painting published in June.'

[3] Bentley (see Letter 226, n. 9).

gown[4]. don't you reckon, that there is a little flirt aim'd at you in it?

I see the B[p][5] & You are destined to come together: however I make my protestation beforehand, that I never will believe, you had an eye to the Eleusinian mysteries; or that you have demonstrated the truth of the Copernican system by making no mention of it in any part of your writings. Adieu! I am

Ever Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon[ble] Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: SAFFRON 15 WALDEN AP *stamped:* FREE[6]

[4] The reference is to the following passage in Bentley's *Patriotism* (see Letter 226, n. 8):

Now *Loyalty* begins the sacred Health,
On which *Sedition* only creeps by Stealth:
The Toasts, still as they wander from their Source
Shew more evanid its diluted Force.
As when, all-graceful Marlborough, your Dress
Tell us that *Ranelagh* you mean to bless,
While down your perfect Form in Rainbow Rows
The Lutestring Stripe with gay Confusion flows;
The Point insensible, (the Diff'rence seen)
Where Purple steals to Yellow, or to Green:
We find, deluded thro' the varying Silks,

That what commenced with G - - -* concludes with W - - -†.

(*Canto* iii, *ll.* 89–100.)

[5] Probably William Warburton (1698–1779), Bishop of Gloucester (1759), the reference being to Warburton's resentment at something in the second volume of the *Anecdotes of Painting*. (See Walpole's account in *Short Notes*, under 1762.)

[6] The use of this stamp was no doubt connected with the new regulations with regard to the franking of letters which came into force in April of this year. The privilege was now restricted to the sending by peers and members of Parliament of ten letters free daily, not exceeding an ounce in weight, to any part of the United Kingdom, and to the receipt of fifteen.

* Gay. † Wilkes.

228. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Pemb: Hall. April 25 [1764][1]

I AM obliged to you for your enquiries after me. I am indeed not well, tho' recover'd in a great degree, & able to go about as usual. it will be about a fortnight, before I can come to Town: therefore if L[d] Herbert[2] should be ripe within a week or ten days, I could wish to see him at Cambridge, for I am impatient to be better acquainted with him, & by this long delay should expect additions to the Manuscript, tho' of what kind I can not imagine. I am ever

Yours

TG:

By the Camb: Fly, Queen's Head, Grey's-Inn-Lane.

229. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[Cambridge] July 10. 1764

I SEND you the list you desired, w[ch] now perhaps signifies little, but I could not procure it sooner.

LETTER 228.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date of the year is determined by the reference to the *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, the printing of which had been completed at the end of January, 1764 (see Letter 222 n.), but which was not published until the middle of July (see Walpole to Montagu, 16 July 1764; and to Cole, same date).

[2] See n. 1.

LETTER 229.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

Harding[1] is N: Harding's Son: his Uncle Pratt[2] has taken him away, & written a proper letter to D[r] Smith[3] on the occasion.

Has L[d] Herbert[4] drown'd himself in his own purling stream, or has he only wetted his ruff, & discomposed his mustachoes[5]? & what has the Man-mountain[6] been doing at Court? Adieu, I am ever

Yours

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon[ble] Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London
M:P:[7]

Postmark: SAFFRON WALDEN IY[8] *stamped:* FREE

[1] Probably George Hardinge (1743–1816), of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was admitted pensioner in Jan. 1761. He was the third son of Nicholas Hardinge (1699–1758), Clerk to the House of Commons (1731–52), and Joint Secretary to the Treasury (1752–58), who married (1738) a daughter of Sir John Pratt, Lord Chief Justice, the father of the future Lord Chancellor (see n. 2).

[2] Charles Pratt (1714–94), third son of Sir John Pratt, by his second wife; at this time Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in which capacity he had decided in the case of Wilkes (1763) that general warrants were illegal; he was afterwards created (1765) Baron Camden, and (1786) Earl Camden; and became Lord Chancellor (1766–70).

[3] No doubt Robert Smith, D.D., Master of Trinity (1742–68), the founder of Smith's prizes at Cambridge.

[4] Lord Herbert of Cherbury (see Letter 228, n. 1).

[5] Gray is referring to the portrait of Lord Herbert reclining at full length, beside a streamlet, and wearing a ruff, which forms the frontispiece to the Strawberry Hill edition of his *Life*.

[6] The name (*Quinbus Flestrin*, 'the great Man-Mountain') given to Gulliver by the inhabitants of Lilliput. The allusion remains obscure.

[7] Walpole was at this time member for King's Lynn. The addition of M.P. to the address was no doubt due to the new regulations as to franking letters (see Letter 227, n. 6).

[8] The date of the month is illegible.

230. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I RETURN you abundance of thanks for L^d^ Herbert[1] & for the Pamphlet[2]. the first is exceedingly defective in its Commas & Semicolons. the latter has a misfortune attends it (not at all in your power to remedy) that few or none had read the Addreſs[3], w^ch^ occasion'd it. if they do now, it is your doing.

I shall probably be in Town in about a fortnight, where I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you. I am ever

Yours

TG:

[Cambridge] Aug: 17. 1764.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
In Arlington Street
London
M: P:

Postmark: ROYS TON 18 AV *stamped:* FREE

LETTER 230.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] See Letter 228, n. 1.

[2] This was Walpole's *Counter-Address to the Public on the late Dismission of a General Officer* (printed in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, pp. 547–76); in his *Short Notes* he records: '1764. May 29^th^. Began an answer to a pamphlet against M^r^ Conway,' called *An Address to the Public on the late Dismission of a General Officer*. My answer was finished June 12^th^, but not published till Aug. 2nd, under the title of *A Counter-Address to the Public*, &c.' General Conway had been dismissed (April 22, 1764) from the command of his regiment of dragoons, and from his post as Groom of the Bedchamber, for voting (Feb. 14 and 17) against the legality of general warrants.

[3] The author was William Guthrie (1708–70), a political pamphleteer (see Letter 241, n. 5); he answered Walpole in *A Reply to the Counter-Address*.

231. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I HAVE received the C: of O:[1], & return you my thanks for it. it engages our attention here[2], makes some of us cry a little, & all in general afraid to go to bed o' nights. we take it for a translation[3], & should believe it to be a true story, if it were not for S^t^ Nicholas[4].

LETTER 231.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed, in an incomplete form, by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 403–4.

[1] *The Castle of Otranto*—in his *Short Notes* Walpole records: '1764. June. I began *The Castle of Otranto*, a Gothic story, and finished it Aug. 6th. Dec. 24th. *The Castle of Otranto* was published; 500 copies. 1765. April 11th. The 2nd edition of *The Castle of Otranto*; 500 copies.' He gives an account of the origin of the romance in a letter to Cole (9 March 1765): 'I waked one morning in the beginning of last June, from a dream, of which, all I could recover was, that I had thought myself in an ancient castle . . ., and that on the uppermost banister of the staircase I saw a gigantic hand in armour. In the evening I sat down, and began to write, without knowing in the least what I intended to say or relate. The work grew on my hands, and I grew fond of it . . . in short, I was so engrossed with my tale, which I completed in less than two months, that one evening, I wrote from the time I had drunk my tea, about six o'clock, till half an hour after one in the morning.'

[2] Cambridge.

[3] In the original edition it professed to be a translation, the title being, *The Castle of Otranto, a Story, translated by William Marshal, Gent. from the original Italian of Onuphrio Muralto, Canon of the Church of St. Nicholas at Otranto.* In the second edition Walpole disclosed his authorship. Gray had been in the secret from the first, as is evident from Walpole's letter to Mason of 17 April 1765 ('I published *The Castle of Otranto* with the utmost diffidence and doubt of its success. . . . It was begun and finished in less than two months, and then I showed it to Mr Gray, who encouraged me to print it'). At first Gray himself was believed to be the author (see Walpole to Lord Hertford, 26 March 1765).

[4] The allusion is to a passage at the end of the story: 'Behold in Theodore, the true heir of Alfonso! said the vision: and having pronounced those words, accompanied by a clap of thunder,

When your pen was in your hand, you might have been a little more communicative: for, tho' disposed enough to believe the Opposition rather consumptive, I am entirely ignorant of all the symptoms. [5]even what the Yorks[6] have been doing for themselves, or attempting to do, is to me a secret[5]. your canonical book[7] I have been reading with great satisfaction. he speaketh as one having authority. if Englishmen have any feeling left, methinks they must feel now; & if the Ministry have any feeling (whom no body will suspect of insensibility) they must cut off the Author's ears, for it is in all the forms a most wicked libel. is the old Man, & the Lawyer put on, or is it real? or has some real Lawyer furnish'd a good part of the materials, & another Person employ'd them? this I guefs, for there is an uncouthnefs of diction in the beginning, w^ch^ is not supported throughout, though it now & then

it ascended solemnly towards heaven, where the clouds parting asunder, the form of saint Nicholas was seen; and receiving Alfonso's shade, they were soon wrapt from mortal eyes in a blaze of glory.'

[5–5] This passage is omitted by Miss Berry.

[6] The second Earl of Hardwicke (Philip Yorke), and his brother, Charles Yorke.

[7] This was *An Inquiry into the Doctrines lately promulgated concerning Juries, Libels, &c., upon the principles of the Law and the Constitution.* In his letter to Lord Hertford of 3 Dec. 1764, Walpole calls it 'the finest piece that I think has been written for liberty since Lord Somers'; he attributes it to 'one Dunning, a lawyer lately started up, who makes a great noise', that is, John Dunning (1731–83), subsequently (1782) first Baron Ashburton; M.P. for Calne, 1768–82; Solicitor-General, 1768–70; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1782–83. He made a great reputation by his arguments against the legality of general warrants; it was he who moved the famous resolutions in April 1780 relative to the increasing influence of the Crown, and to the necessity for a reform of the Civil List.

occurs again, as if the Writer was weary of supporting the character he had assumed, when the subject had warmed him beyond dissimulation.

Rousseau's letters[8] I am reading heavily, heavily! he justifies himself, till he convinces me, that he deserved to be burnt, at least that his book[9] did. I am not got thro' him, & you never will. Voltaire I detest, & have not seen his book[10]: I shall in good time. You surprise me, when you talk of going in February[11]: pray, does all the Minority go too? I hope, you have a *reason. desperare de republicâ*[12] is a deadly sin in politicks.

Adieu! I will not take my leave of you, for (you perceive) this letter means to beg another, when you can spare a little.

[Cambridge] Sunday. Dec: 30. 1764.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: CAMBRIDGE 31 DE *stamped:* FREE

[8] *Lettres écrites de la Montagne* (1764), written 'in order to prove the cruelty and injustice of the State of Geneva in burning his *Emile*' (Gray to Mason, Jan. 1765).

[9] *Émile, ou de l'Éducation*, published in 1761; it was condemned to be burned by the Parlement of Paris (11 June 1762), and afterwards by the Council of Geneva.

[10] His *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, published in this year (see Gray to Mason, *loc. cit.*: 'I have not read the *Philosophic Dictionary*. I can stay with great patience for anything that comes from Voltaire').

[11] To Paris; he did not, however, leave England till the beginning of September.

[12] The Consul, Caius Terentius Varro, was thanked by the Roman Senate after the disaster at Cannæ, 'quod de republicâ non desperasset' (Livy, xxii. 61).

232. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

[London: November, 1765][1]

AT my return from Scotland instead of seeing you I find an empty house, & an uncomfortable account of your situation: that you have been very ill with the gout in both feet, that you have been some time in France[2] for your health, that you have got no farther than Paris, have again been confined there, & are just beginning to go abroad again. at the hazard of being call'd an old woman I will take upon me to desire, when the fit is actually upon you, that you will make no sudden changes in your diet, I do not say in quantity, but in quality. that when you are recovering & the pain is gone, but has left behind it a weakneſs in the joint, you will not be too indulgent to that weakneſs: but give yourself so much of motion & exercise, as you can well endure. above all, keep your legs warmer at all times, whether you are well or ill, in bed or up, than you have commonly used to do, & as far as may be, always in the same temperature. the quantity of wine you have commonly used has been so inconsiderable, that I do not believe it ever did, or will hurt you: but if you leave it off, mix a little quantity of spirit, brandy or whatever else is palatable to you, with your water. remember, it is only the wine-drinking nations, that know what the gout is: whereas those,

LETTER 232.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] The date is determined by the reference to the death of the Duke of Cumberland (see n. 5).

[2] Walpole left England on Sept. 9.

that even indulge themselves in distill'd liquours, as well the laborious & hard-faring people, as the indolent & luxurious, tho' subject to many other disorders, are utter strangers to this. my prescriptions are simple, but they are such as I use myself, who am a Fellow-sufferer with you, about your own age[3], have (unhappily for me) a better right to this malady than you, begun to feel it earlier, & yet have hitherto felt it mildly, & never in my stomach or head. I only say, they are better than French Nostrums, or People of Qualitie's receipts. you will do me pleasure (if you are able) in telling me yourself, how you do, for I have no body but your Servants to inform me.

I am come back from the Highlands very much the better for my journey & (what I little expected) very much pleased with what I have seen[4]. I would send you *English news*, but that I know, you receive it from much better hands. they tell me *our* Ministry will stand upon its legs, tho' they have lost the Duke[5]. there are three separations I hear talk'd of in the married world, the Boling:[s6], the Shelb:[s7] & the

[3] Gray was born on 26 Dec. 1716; Walpole on 24 Sept. 1717.

[4] See his letter to Mason of Nov. 1765: 'I am returned from Scotland charmed with my expedition; it is of the Highlands I speak; the Lowlands are worth seeing once, but the mountains are ecstatic, and ought to be visited in pilgrimage once a year. None but those monstrous creatures of God know how to join so much beauty with so much horror.'

[5] The Duke of Cumberland (see Letter 125, n. 5), who died on 31 Oct. 1765. He was Captain-General at the time of his death.

[6] Bolingbrokes—Frederick St. John, second Viscount Bolingbroke, married (1757) Diana, eldest daughter of Charles Spencer, third Duke of Marlborough, from whom he was divorced on 10 March 1768, on account of her connexion with Topham Beauclerk, whom she married two days after.

[7] Shelburnes—William Petty, second Earl of Shelburne (see

Warkw:[8]; the last I believe may be true. Adieu! take care of yourself! I am ever

Yours.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole

233. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

Paris Nov. 19. 1765.

YOU are very kind to inquire so particularly after my gout: I wish I may not be too circumstantial in my answer; but you have tapped a dangerous topic; I can talk gout by the hour. It is my great mortification, & has disappointed all the hopes that I had built on temperance & hardineſs. I have resisted like a hermit, & exposed myself to all weathers & seasons like a smugler; and in vain. I have however still so much of the obstinacy of both profeſsions left, that I think I shall continue, & cannot obey you in keeping myself warm. I have gone thro my second fit under one blanket, & already go about in a silk wastecoat with my bosom unbuttoned. In short, I am as prejudiced to my regimen, tho so ineffectual, as

Letter 222, n. 25), married (in the previous February) Sophia, daughter of John Carteret, second Earl Granville; there was no divorce.

[8] Warkworths—Hugh Percy (formerly Smithson), Lord Warkworth, eldest son of the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Northumberland, married (1764) Anne, third daughter of John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, from whom he was divorced in 1779.

LETTER 233.—Now first printed in full from original in Waller Collection. This letter was first printed in part by Miss Berry in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 356–9.

I coud have been to all I expected from it. The truth is, I am almost as willing to have the gout as to be liable to catch cold; & must run up stairs & down, in & out of doors when I will, or I cannot have the least satisfaction. This will convince you how readily I comply with another of your precepts, walking as soon as I am able[1]—I have had little indulgence for myself on that head. Wine I drink with my water, because I cannot drink the filthy water here by itself; I began with brandy, but soon grew to nauseate it. The greatest change I have made, is in leaving off Tea—I doubt, only because I took an aversion to it. I own I am much better since. This is the Detail: the general history is, that I was seized with the gout in one foot at the End of June, soon had it in both, with great torment, & then without it's going out of my feet, in head, Stomach, both wrists & both Shoulders. Nine weeks pasſed before I coud even walk without a Stick; yet the state of Convalescence, as it has been in my second fit, was much worse & more uneasy than the heigth of the pain, from the constant sickneſs at my Stomach. I came hither, mended miraculously with the Sea & the journey, but caught cold in a fortnight, & have had six weeks more of pain in both feet, and such sickneſs that I have been very near starved: besides such swelled legs, that they were as much too big for my body, as before they woud have been too little for any other person's alive. I have now got the better of every thing but the weakneſs, & am only thrown or

[1–1] This passage is omitted by Miss Berry.

tumble down ten times a day[1]. For receipts, you may trust me for making use of none; I woud not see a physician at the worst, but have quacked myself as boldly, as Quacks treat others. I laughed at your idea of quality receipts, it came so apropos: there is not a Man or Woman here that is not a perfect old Nurse, & who does not talk gruel & anatomy with equal fluency & ignorance. one instance shall serve; Madame de Bouzols, Marshal Berwick's daughter[2], assured me there was nothing so good for the gout as to preserve the parings of my nails in a bottle close-stopped. When I try any illustrious Nostrum, I shall give the preference to this.

So much for the Gout! I told you what was coming. As to the Ministry, I know & care very little about them. I told you & told them long ago, that if ever a change happened, I woud bid adieu to Politics for ever. Do me the justice to allow that I have not altered with the Times. I was so impatient to put this resolution in execution, that I hurried out of England, before I was sufficiently recovered. I shall not run the same hazard again in haste; but will stay here till I am perfectly well, & the Season of warm weather coming on or arrived, tho the Charms of Paris have not the least attraction for me, nor woud keep me here an hour on their own account. For the City itself, I cannot conceive where my eyes were: It is the ugliest, beastly Town in the Universe. I have not

[2] Laura, daughter of James Fitzjames (1670–1734), Duke of Berwick, Marshal of France, natural son of James II and Arabella Churchill; she married (1732) Joachim Louis de Montaigu, Marquis de Bouzols (d. 1747).

seen a mouthfull of verdure out of it, nor have they any thing green but their treillage & window shutters. Trees cut into fireshovels & stuck into pedestals of chalk, compose their country. Their boasted knowledge of Society is reduced to talking of their suppers, & every malady they have about them, or know of. The Dauphin[3] is at the point of death; every morning the Physicians frame an account of him, & happy is he or She who can produce a copy of this lie, called a *bulletin*. The night before last, one of these was produced at supper where I was; it was read, & said, he had had *une evacuation fœtide*—I beg your pardon, tho you are not at Supper. The old Lady of the House[4], who by the way is quite blind, was the Regent's[5] mistreſs for a fortnight, & is very agreable, called out, oh! they have forgot to mention that he threw down his chamberpot, and was forced to change his bed. There were present several Women of the first rank, as Madame de la Valiere, who you remember Ducheſse de Vaujour[6], & who is still miraculously

[3] Louis, son of Louis XV, and father of Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, and Charles X; he died a month later, on Dec. 20.

[4] Marie de Vichy-Chamrond (1697–1780), Marquise du Deffand; Walpole shortly after became intimate with her, and maintained a correspondence with her until her death. Madame du Deffand's letters to Walpole, more than 800 in number, edited by the late Mrs. Paget Toynbee, have been published recently (3 vols. 8vo, London, 1912).

[5] Philippe (1674–1723), Duc d'Orléans, grandson of Louis XIII, Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV (1715–23).

[6] Anne Julie Françoise de Crussol, daughter of the Duc d'Uzès, married (1732) Louis César Le Blanc de la Baume, Duc de Vaujour, who in August 1739 (not long after Walpole and Gray left Paris during their early Continental tour), exchanged his title for that of Duc de la Vallière. The Duchesse was a close friend

pretty tho fiftythree, a very handsome Madame de Forcalquier[7], & others—nor was this conversation at all particular to that evening. [8]They talk of a *Chienne chaude*, or the *dangerous* time of a Woman's age, as they woud talk of a knotting bag[8].

Their gaiety is not greater than their Delicacy—but I will not expatiate. In short, they are another people from what They were. They may be growing wise, but the intermediate passage is Dullness. Several of the Women are agreable, & some of the Men; but the Latter are in general vain & ignorant. The Scavants, I beg their pardons, the Philosophes, are insupportable. Superficial, overbearing, & fanatic; they preach incessantly, & their avowed doctrine is Atheism; you woud not believe how openly—Dont wonder therefore, if I should return a Jesuit. Voltaire himself does not satisfy them: One of their Lady-Devotes said of Him; il est Bigot; c'est un Deiste.

I am as little pleased with their taste in trifles. Crebillon[9] is entirely out of fashion, & Marivaux[10] a proverb; *Marivauder*, & *Marivaudage* are established terms for being prolix & tiresome. I thought that We were fallen, but they are ten times lower.

Notwithstanding all I have said, I have found two or three Societies that please me; am amused with the

of Madame du Deffand, at whose house Walpole made her acquaintance and became intimate with her. She figures in Madame du Deffand's letters to Walpole (who was greatly attracted by her, and corresponded with her) as 'la belle Comtesse' and 'la Bellissima'.

[7] Marie Françoise Renée de Carbonnel de Canisy, widow (1741) of the Marquis d'Antin, and wife (1742) of Louis Bufile de Brancas, Comte de Forcalquier (d. 1753).

[8–8] Omitted by Miss Berry.

[9] See Letter 143, n. 6.

[10] See Letter 143, n. 5.

Novelty of the whole, & shoud be sorry not to have come. The Dumenil [11] is, if posible, superior to What you remember; I am sorry not to see the Clairon [12], but several persons whose judgments seem the soundest, prefer the Former. Preville [13] is admirable in low Comedy: the mixture of Italian Comedy & Comic operas prettily written, & set to Italian music, at the same Theatre, is charming, & gets the better both of their operas and French Comedy, the latter of which is seldom full, with all it's merit. Petit Maitres are obsolete, like our Lords Foppington [14]—Tout le Monde est Philosophe—when I grow very sick of this last nonsense, I go & compose myself at the Chartreuse, where I am almost tempted to prefer Le Sœur [15] to every Painter I know—yet what new old Treasures are come to light, routed out of the Louvre, & thrown into new lumber-rooms at Versailles!—but I have not room to tell you what I have seen! I will keep this & other chapters for Strawberry. adieu! and thank you.

yrs ever

HW.

Old Mariette [16] has shown me a print by Diepen-

[11] See Letter 92, n. 8.

[12] The celebrated actress, Claire Joseph Hippolyte Legris de Latude (1723–1803), known as Mademoiselle Clairon; she had quitted the stage in the previous April, but she continued to perform in private houses.

[13] Pierre Louis Debus (1721–99), known as Préville.

[14] A character ('Sir Novelty Fashion, newly created Lord Foppington') in Vanbrugh's *The Relapse, or Virtue in Danger*.

[15] See Letter 90, n. 6.

[16] Pierre Jean Mariette (1694–1774), Parisian virtuoso and collector.

becke[17] of the D. and Dſs of Newecastle[18] at dinner with their family: you wd oblige me if you woud look into all their Grace's folios, & see if it is not a frontispiece to some one of them[19]. Then He has such a Petitot[20] of Madame d'Olonne[21]! The Pompadour[22] offered him fifty Louis's for it—Alack! so woud I![23]

234. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Cambridge, December 13, 1765.

I AM very much obliged to you for the detail you enter into on the subject of your own health: in this you cannot be too circumstantial for me, who had received no account of you, but at second hand—such as, that you were dangerously ill, and therefore went

[17] Abraham van Diepenbecke (1599–1675), Flemish painter, a pupil of Rubens.

[18] William Cavendish (1592–1676), first Duke of Newcastle, and his second wife (1645), Margaret (1616–73), daughter of Sir Thomas Lucas of Colchester. The Duke was the author of two well-known works on horsemanship, besides numerous plays and poems. The Duchess wrote *Lives* of her husband and of herself, and, like him, numerous plays and poems, besides many philosophical works.

[19] See Letter 234.

[20] Jean Petitot (1607–91), miniature painter.

[21] Catherine Henriette d'Angennes (d. 1714), Comtesse d'Olonne.

[22] Jeanne Antoinette Poisson (1721–64), Marquise de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV.

[23] Walpole eventually acquired this miniature at Mariette's sale in December 1775, through the good offices of Madame du Deffand, who wrote (Dec. 12): 'J'ai Madame d'Olonne entre les mains; vous voilà au comble de la joie; mais modérez-la, en apprenant que les galants ne la payaient pas plus cher de son vivant que vous ne la payez après sa mort; elle vous coûte trois mille deux cents livres.' It figures in the *Description of Strawberry Hill* as being 'Within the cabinet of enamels and miniatures, in the Tribune' (see *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, p. 475).

LETTER 234.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 359–61.

to France; that you meant to try a better climate, and therefore staid at Paris; that you had relapsed, and were confined to your bed, and extremely in vogue, and supped in the best company, and were at all public diversions. I rejoice[1] to find (improbable as it seemed) that all the wonderful part of this is strictly true, and that the serious part has been a little exaggerated. This latter I conclude not so much from your own account of yourself, as from the spirits in which I see you write; and long may they continue to support you! I mean in a reasonable degree of elevation: but if (take notice) they are so volatile, so flippant, as to suggest any of those doctrines of health, which you preach with all the zeal of a French atheist; at least, if they really do influence your practice; I utterly renounce them and all their works. They are *evil spirits*, and will lead you to destruction.—You have long built your hopes on temperance, you say, and hardineſs. On the first point we are agreed. The second has totally disappointed you, and *therefore* you will persist in it; by all means. But then be sure to persist too in being young, in stopping the course of time, and making the shadow return back upon your sun-dial. If you find this not so easy, acquiesce with a good grace in my *anilities*, put on your understockings of yarn or woollen, even in the night-time. Don't provoke me! or I shall order you two night-caps (which by the way would do your eyes good), and put a little of any French liqueur into your water: they are nothing but brandy and sugar, and among

[1] Gosse, Tovey: 'rejoiced'.

their various flavours some of them may surely be palatable enough. The pain in your feet I *can* bear; but I shudder at the sickneſs in your stomach, and the weakneſs, that still continues. I conjure you, as you love yourself; I conjure you by Strawberry, not to trifle with these edge-tools. There is no cure for the gout, when in the stomach, but to throw it into the limbs. There is no relief for the gout in the limbs, but in gentle warmth and gradual perspiration.

I was much entertained with your account of our neighbours. As an Englishman and an Antigallican, I rejoice at their dulneſs and their nastineſs: though I fear we shall come to imitate them in both. Their atheism is a little too much, too shocking to rejoice at. I have been long sick at it in their authors, and hated them for it: but I pity their poor innocent people of fashion. They were bad enough, when they believed every thing!

I have searched where you directed me; which I could not do sooner, as I was at London when I received your letter, and could not easily find her grace's[2] works. Here they abound in every library. The print you ask after is the frontispiece to *Nature's pictures drawn by Fancy's pencil*[3]. But lest there should be any mistake, I must tell you, the family are not at dinner, but sitting round a rousing fire and telling stories. The room is just such a one as we lived in at Rheims[4]: I mean as to the glazing and ceiling.

[2] The Duchess of Newcastle (see Letter 233, n. 18).

[3] *Nature's Pictures drawn by Fancie's Pencil to the Life*, London, 1656.

[4] From June to August, 1739.

The chimney is supported by cariatides: over the mantle-piece the arms of the family. The duke and ducheſs are crowned with laurel. A servant stands behind him, holding a hat and feather. Another is shutting a window. Diepenbecke delin. & (I think) S. Clouwe[5] sculps. It is a very pretty and curious print, and I thank you for the sight of it. If it ever was a picture, what a picture to have!

I must tell you, that upon cleaning an old picture here at St. John's Lodge, which I always took for a Holbein; on a ring, which the figure wears, they have found H. H.[6] It has been always called B^p^ Fisher[7]; but is plainly a layman, and probably sir Anthony Denny[8], who was a benefactor to the college.

What is come of your Sevigné-curiosity[9]? I should

[5] Probably the Flemish engraver, Pierre Clowet (1606–68).

[6] Hans Holbein, the younger (1497–1543), who between 1527 and 1543 painted the portraits of numerous English celebrities.

[7] Miss Berry: 'B. V. Fisher'; but, as Tovey points out, in the light of Gray's mention of this portrait in his letter to Walpole of 2 Sept. 1760 (see Letter 215, n. 23), it is evident that this is an error of transcription, Gray having no doubt written B^p^, his 'p' superscript (with a split 'tail') being easily mistaken for V.

[8] Sir Anthony Denny (1501–49), an officer of State under Henry VIII, who was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and rendered great service in repairing Sedbergh School, in Yorkshire, which belonged to the College, and in recovering and resettling the estate which formed its endowment. His portrait by Holbein, presumably that at St. John's, has been engraved.

[9] Walpole's devotion to Madame de Sévigné, whom he canonized as 'Notre Dame de Livry' (from her place of residence not far from Paris), inspired Madame du Deffand, who used to rally him on the subject, to send him a snuff-box with Madame de Sévigné's portrait, and a letter signed by her, and dated from the Champs Élysées, beginning: 'Je connais votre folle passion pour moi; votre

be glad of a line now and then, when you have leisure. I wish you well, and am ever

Yours,

T. GRAY.

235. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

Paris, January 25, 1766.

I AM much indebted to you for your kind letter[1] and advice; and though it is late to thank you for it, it is at least a stronger proof that I do not forget it. However, I am a little obstinate, as you know, on the chapter of health, and have persisted through this Siberian winter in not adding a grain to my clothes, and in going open-breasted without an under-waistcoat. In short, though I like extremely to live, it must be in my own way, as long as I can: it is not youth I court, but liberty; and I think making one's self tender, is iſsuing a *general warrant* against one's own person. I suppose I shall submit to confinement, when I cannot help it; but I am indifferent enough to life not to care if it ends soon after my prison begins.

I have not delayed so long to answer your letter, from not thinking of it, or from want of matter, but from want of time. I am constantly occupied, engaged,

enthousiasme pour mes lettres, votre vénération pour les lieux que j'ai habités: j'ai appris le culte que vous m'y * avez rendu; j'en suis si pénétrée que j'ai sollicité et obtenu la permission de mes Souverains de vous venir trouver pour ne vous quitter jamais.'

LETTER 235.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 361–7.

[1] Letter 234.

* He had made a pilgrimage to Livry and had dined there.

amused, till I cannot bring a hundredth part of what I have to say into the compaſs of a letter. You will lose nothing by this: you know my volubility, when I am full of new subjects; and I have at least many hours of conversation for you at my return. One does not learn a whole nation in four or five months; but, for the time, few, I believe, have seen, studied, or got so much acquainted with the French as I have.

By what I said of their religious or rather irreligious opinions, you must not conclude their people of quality, atheists—at least not the men—Happily for them, poor souls! they are not capable of going so far into thinking. They aſsent to a great deal, because it is the fashion, and because they don't know how to contradict. They are ashamed to defend the Roman catholic religion, because it is quite exploded; but I am convinced they believe it in their hearts. They hate the parliaments and the philosophers, and are rejoiced that they may still idolize royalty. At present too they are a little triumphant: the court has shown a little spirit, and the parliaments much leſs: but as the duc de Choiseul[2], who is very fluttering, unsettled, and inclined to the philosophers, has made a compromise with the parliament of Bretagne, the parliaments might venture out again, if, as I fancy will be the case, they are not glad to drop a cause, of which they began to be a little weary of the inconveniencies.

[2] Étienne François de Choiseul-Stainville (1719–85), Duc de Choiseul, who became Minister for Foreign Affairs in this year. He was disgraced and exiled in 1770, owing to the intrigues of Madame du Barry.

The generality of the men, and more than the generality, are dull and empty. They have taken up gravity, thinking it was philosophy and English, and so have acquired nothing in the room of their natural levity and cheerfulneſs. However, as their high opinion of their own country remains, for which they can no longer aſsign any reason, they are contemptuous and reserved, instead of being ridiculously, consequently pardonably, impertinent. I have wondered, knowing my own countrymen, that we had attained such a superiority.—I wonder no longer, and have a little more respect for English *heads* than I had.

The women do not seem of the same country: if they are leſs gay than they were, they are more informed, enough to make them very conversable. I know six or seven with very superior understandings; some of them with wit, or with softneſs, or very good sense.

Madame Geoffrin[3], of whom you have heard much, is an extraordinary woman, with more common sense than I almost ever met with. Great quickneſs in discovering characters, penetration in going to the bottom of them, and a pencil that never fails in a likeneſs—seldom a favourable one. She exacts and preserves, spite of her birth and their nonsensical prejudices about nobility, great court and attention. This she acquires by a thousand little arts and offices of friendship; and by a freedom and severity, which seems to be her sole end of drawing a concourse to her; for she insists on

[3] Marie Thérèse Geoffrin, *née* Rodet (1699–1777), widow of a wealthy manufacturer, who for many years presided over a *salon* in Paris.

scolding those she inveigles to her. She has little taste and leſs knowledge, but protects artisans and authors, and courts a few people to have the credit of serving her dependents. She was bred under the famous madame Tencin[4], who advised her never to refuse any man; for, said her mistreſs, though nine in ten should not care a farthing for you, the tenth may live to be an useful friend. She did not adopt or reject the whole plan, but fully retained the purport of the maxim. In short, she is an epitome of empire, subsisting by rewards and punishments. Her great enemy, madame du Deffand[5], was for a short time mistreſs of the regent, is now very old and stone blind, but retains all her vivacity, wit, memory, judgment, paſsions, and agreeableneſs. She goes to operas, plays, suppers, and Versailles; gives suppers twice a week; has every thing new read to her; makes new songs and epigrams, aye, admirably, and remembers every one that has been made these fourscore years. She corresponds with Voltaire, dictates charming letters to him, contradicts him, is no bigot to him or any body, and laughs both at the clergy and the philosophers. In a dispute, into which she easily falls, she is very warm, and yet scarce ever in the wrong: her judgment on every subject is as just as poſsible; on every point of conduct as wrong as poſsible: for she is all love and hatred, paſsionate for

[4] Claudine Alexandrine Guérin (1681–1749), Marquise de Tencin, at one time mistress of the Regent, famous for her *salon*, and as an authoress of novels.

[5] See Letter 233, n. 4. Madame du Deffand never forgave Madame Geoffrin for her protection of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse after the rupture of the latter with the Marquise.

her friends to enthusiasm, still anxious to be loved, I don't mean by lovers, and a vehement enemy, but openly. As she can have no amusement but conversation, the least solitude and ennui are insupportable to her, and put her into the power of several worthleſs people, who eat her suppers when they can eat nobody's of higher rank; wink to one another and laugh at her; hate her because she has forty times more parts—and venture to hate her because she is not rich. She has an old friend whom I must mention, a monsieur Pondevelle[6], author of the Fat Puni, and the Complaisant, and of those pretty novels, the Comte de Cominge, the Siege of Calais, and les Malheurs de l'Amour. Would not you expect this old man to be very agreeable? He can be so, but seldom is: yet he has another very different and very amusing talent, the art of parody, and is unique in his kind. He composes tales to the tunes of long dances: for instance, he has adapted the Regent's Daphnis and Chloe to one, and made it ten times more indecent; but is so old and sings it so well, that it is permitted in all companies. He has succeeded still better in les characteres de la danse, to which he has adapted words that expreſs all the characters of love. With all this, he has not the least idea of cheerfulneſs in conversation; seldom speaks but on grave subjects, and not often on them; is a humourist, very supercilious, and wrapt up in admiration of his own country,

[6] Antoine de Ferriol (1697–1774), Comte de Pont-de-Veyle. He wrote the two comedies, the *Fat Puni* and the *Complaisant*, but was only part author (with Madame de Tencin, his aunt) of the three novels, the *Mémoires du Comte de Comminge*, *Siège de Calais*, and *Malheurs de l'Amour*.

as the only judge of his merit. His air and look are cold and forbidding; but ask him to sing, or praise his works, his eyes and smiles open and brighten up. In short, I can show him to you: the self-applauding poet in Hogarth's Rake's Progreſs, the second print, is so like his very features and very wig, that you would know him by it, if you came hither—for he certainly will not go to you.

Madame de Mirepoix's[7] understanding is excellent of the useful kind, and can be so when she pleases of the agreeable kind. She has read, but seldom shows it, and has perfect taste. Her manner is cold, but very civil; and she conceals even the blood of Lorrain, without ever forgetting it. Nobody in France knows the world better, and nobody is personally so well with the king. She is false, artful, and insinuating beyond measure when it is her interest, but indolent and a coward. She never had any paſsion but gaming, and always loses. For ever paying court, the sole produce of a life of art is to get money from the king to carry on a course of paying debts or contracting new ones, which she discharges as fast as she is able. She advertised devotion to get made dame du palais to the queen; and the very next day this princeſs of Lorrain was seen riding backwards with madame Pompadour in the latter's coach. When the king was stabbed and heartily frightened, the mistreſs took a panic too, and

[7] Anne Marguerite Gabrielle de Beauvau-Craon, Maréchale-Duchesse de Mirepoix; she was dame d'honneur to Queen Marie Leszczynska, and took a prominent part in Court intrigues. She paid great court to Madame de Pompadour, and subsequently countenanced Madame du Barry.

consulted d'Argenson[8], whether she had not best make off in time. He hated her, and said, By all means. Madame de Mirepoix advised her to stay. The king recovered his spirits, d'Argenson was banished, and la marechale inherited part of the mistreſs's credit.— I must interrupt my history of illustrious women with an anecdote of monsieur de Maurepas[9], with whom I am much acquainted, and who has one of the few heads that approach to good ones, and who luckily for us was disgraced, and the marine dropped, because it was his favourite object and province. He employed Pondevelle to make a song on the Pompadour: it was clever and bitter, and did not spare even majesty. This was Maurepas absurd enough to sing at supper at Versailles. Banishment ensued; and lest he should ever be restored, the mistreſs persuaded the king that he had poisoned her predeceſsor madame de Chateauroux[10]. Maurepas is very agreeable, and exceedingly cheerful; yet I have seen a transient silent cloud when politics are talked of.

Madame de Boufflers[11], who was in England, is a

[8] Marc Pierre de Voyer (1696–1764), Comte d'Argenson, Minister of War, in which capacity he reorganized the French army. Having incurred the resentment of Madame de Pompadour, he was disgraced and exiled in 1757.

[9] Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux (1701–81), Comte de Maurepas; he had been exiled by Louis XV, but was recalled by Louis XVI and appointed minister of finance.

[10] Marie Anne de Mailly-Nesle (1717–44), Duchesse de Châteauroux, mistress of Louis XV.

[11] Marie Charlotte Hippolyte de Campet-de-Saujeon (1724–1800), Comtesse de Boufflers; she was in England in 1763, when she visited Strawberry Hill, of which she disapproved, as being 'peu digne de la solidité anglaise'. Topham Beauclerk's account of her visit to Dr. Johnson at his chambers in the Temple is recorded in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (under 1775).

sçavante, mistreſs of the prince of Conti[12], and very desirous of being his wife. She is two women, the upper and the lower. I need not tell you that the lower is galant, and still has pretensions. The upper is very sensible too, and has a measured eloquence that is just and pleasing—but all is spoiled by an unrelaxed attention to applause. You would think she was always sitting for her picture to her biographer.

Madame de Rochfort[13] is different from all the rest. Her understanding is just and delicate; with a fineſse of wit that is the result of reflection. Her manner is soft and feminine, and though a sçavante, without any declared pretensions. She is the *decent* friend of monsieur de Nivernois[14]; for you must not believe a syllable of what you read in their novels. It requires the greatest curiosity, or the greatest habitude, to discover the smallest connection between the sexes here. No familiarity, but under the veil of friendship, is permitted, and love's dictionary is as much prohibited, as at first sight one should think his ritual was. All you hear, and that pronounced with nonchalance, is, that *monsieur un tel* has had *madame une telle.* The duc de Nivernois has parts, and writes at the top of the mediocre, but, as madame Geoffrin says, is *manqué par*

[12] Louis François de Bourbon (1717–76), Prince de Conti.

[13] Perhaps Marie Élisabeth de Talleyrand, wife (1759) of Charles de Chabannes, Comte de Rochefort; she subsequently married the Duc de Nivernois.

[14] Louis Jules Barbon Mancini-Mazarini (1716–98), Duc de Nivernois, French Ambassador in England, 1762–63. He was a *littérateur* and member of the French Academy, and translated into French Walpole's *Essay on Modern Gardening*, which was printed at Strawberry Hill in English and French in 1785.

tout; guerrier manqué, ambaſsadeur manqué, homme d'affaires manqué, and *auteur manqué*—no, he is not *homme de naiſsance manqué*. He would think freely, but has some ambition of being governor to the dauphin[15], and is more afraid of his wife[16] and daughter[17], who are ecclesiastic fagots. The former out-chatters the duke of Newcastle; and the latter, madame de Gisors, exhausts Mr. Pitt's eloquence in defence of the archbishop[18] of Paris. Monsieur de Nivernois lives in a small circle of dependent admirers, and madame de Rochfort is high prieſtesſ for a small salary of credit.

The ducheſs of Choiseul[19], the only young one of these heroines, is not very pretty, but has fine eyes, and is a little model in wax-work, which not being allowed to speak for some time as incapable, has a heſitation and modesty, the latter of which the court has not cured, and the former of which is atoned for by the most interesting sound of voice, and forgotten in the most elegant turn and propriety of expreſsion. Oh! it is the gentlest, amiable, civil, little creature that ever came out of a fairy egg! So just in its phrases and thoughts, so attentive and good-natured! Every body loves it, but its husband, who prefers his own sister the ducheſse de Grammont[20], an amazonian, fierce, haughty

[15] Afterwards Louis XVI.

[16] Hélène Angélique Françoise Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, married in 1730.

[17] Hélène Julie Rosalie (1740–80), styled Mademoiselle de Nevers, married (1753) Louis Marie Fouquet, Duc de Gisors (d. 1758).

[18] Christophe de Beaumont du Repaire (1703–81), Archbishop of Paris, 1746–81.

[19] Louise Honorine Crozat du Châtel (1736–1801), married in 1750.

[20] Béatrix de Choiseul-Stainville (1730–94), married (1759) Antoine Antonin, Duc de Gramont.

dame, who loves and hates arbitrarily, and is detested. Madame de Choiseul, paſsionately fond of her husband, was the martyr of this union, but at last submitted with a good grace; has gained a little credit with him, and is still believed to idolize him—But I doubt it—she takes too much pains to profeſs it.

I cannot finish my list without adding a much more common character—but more complete in its kind than any of the foregoing, the marechale de Luxembourg[21]. She has been very handsome, very abandoned, and very mischievous. Her beauty is gone, her lovers are gone, and she thinks the devil is coming. This dejection has softened her into being rather agreeable, for she has wit and good-breeding; but you would swear, by the restleſsneſs of her person and the horrors she cannot conceal, that she had signed the compact, and expected to be called upon in a week for the performance.

I could add many pictures, but none so remarkable. In those I send you, there is not a feature bestowed gratis or exaggerated. For the beauties, of which there are a few considerable, as mesdames de Brionne[22], de Monaco[23], et d'Egmont[24], they have not yet lost their characters, nor got any.

[21] Madeleine Angélique de Neufville (1707–86), married (1750) Charles François Frédéric de Montmorency, Maréchal-Duc de Luxembourg.

[22] Louise Julie Constance de Rohan-Montauban, married (1748) Charles Louis de Lorraine, Comte de Brionne.

[23] Marie Christine de Brignole, married (1757) Honoré Camille Léonor Grimaldi, Prince de Monaco.

[24] Jeanne Sophie Élisabeth Louise Armande Septimanie de Richelieu, married (1756) Casimir Pignatelli d'Egmont, Comte d'Egmont.

You must not attribute my intimacy with Paris to curiosity alone. An accident unlocked the doors for me. That *paſse-par-tout*, called the fashion, has made them fly open—and what do you think was that fashion? —I myself—Yes, like queen Elinor in the ballad, I sunk at Charing-croſs[25], and have risen in the faux-bourg St. Germain. A *plaisanterie* on Rouſseau[26], whose arrival here in his way to you brought me acquainted with many anecdotes conformable to the idea I had conceived of him, got about, was liked much more than it deserved, spread like wild-fire, and made me the subject of conversation. Rouſseau's devotees were offended. Madame de Boufflers, with a tone of sentiment, and the accents of lamenting humanity, abused me heartily, and then complained to myself with the utmost softneſs. I acted contrition, but had

[25] The ballad referred to is that known as 'The Fall of Queen *Eleanor*, wife to *Edward* the First, King of *England*; who, for her Pride, by God's Judgments, sunk into the Ground at *Charing-Cross*, and rose at *Queen-Hithe*'. According to the ballad, the Queen, among other barbarous crimes, cruelly did to death 'the Mayor of *London*'s Wife', which brought down a judgement upon her:

'A Judgment lately sent from Heav'n,
For shedding guiltless Blood,
Upon this sinful Queen, that slew
The *London* Lady good!
King *Edward* then, as Wisdom will'd,
Accus'd her of that Deed:
But she deny'd; and wish'd, that God
Would send his Wrath with Speed;

If that upon so vile a Thing
Her Heart did ever think,
She wish'd the Ground might open wide,
And she therein might sink!
With that, at *Charing-Cross* she sunk
Into the Ground alive;
And after rose with Life again,
In *London*, at *Queen-Hithe*.'

(See *A Collection of Old Ballads*, Lond. 1723, vol. i, pp. 97 ff.)

[26] See n. 29.

like to have spoiled all, by growing dreadfully tired of a second lecture from the prince of Conti, who took up the ball, and made himself the hero of a history wherein he had nothing to do. I listened, did not understand half he said (nor he neither), forgot the rest, said Yes when I should have said No, yawned when I should have smiled, and was very penitent when I should have rejoiced at my pardon. Madame de Boufflers was more distreſsed, for he owned twenty times more than I had said: she frowned, and made him signs; but she had wound up his clack, and there was no stopping it. The moment she grew angry, the lord of the house[27] grew charmed, and it has been my fault if I am not at the head of a numerous sect:—but when I left a triumphant party in England, I did not come hither to be at the head of a fashion. However, I have been sent for about like an African prince or a learned canary-bird, and was, in particular, carried by force to the princeſs of Talmond[28], the queen's cousin, who lives in a charitable apartment in the Luxembourg, and was sitting on a small bed hung with saints and Sobieskis, in a corner of one of those vast chambers, by two blinking tapers. I stumbled over a cat, a foot-stool, and a chamber-pot in my journey to her presence. She could not find a syllable to say to me, and the visit ended with her begging a lap-dog. Thank the Lord! though this is the first month, it is the last week, of my reign; and I shall resign my crown with great satisfaction to a

[27] Miss Berry: 'the house of the lord'.

[28] Marie Louise Jablonowska (1710–73), married (1730) Anne Charles Frédéric de la Trémoille, Prince de Talmond.

bouillie of chestnuts, which is just invented, and whose annals will be illustrated by so many indigestions, that Paris will not want any thing else these three weeks. I will enclose the fatal letter[29] after I have finished this enormous one; to which I will only add, that nothing has interrupted my Sevigné-researches but the frost. The abbé de Malesherbes has given me full power to ransack Livry. I did not tell you, that by great accident, when I thought on nothing lefs, I stumbled on an original picture of the comte de Grammont[30]. Adieu! You are generally in London in March: I shall be there by the end of it.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

236. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

DEAR Sr

I HAPPEN'D to be in Norfolk on the way to Houghton, when I read an article in a news-paper relating to you, that shock'd me[1]. I wrote to Dr Gisburne[2] (who lives very near you) to beg he would

[29] A letter which Walpole wrote to Rousseau in the name of the King of Prussia. It is printed in Walpole's letter to Conway of 12 Jan. 1766.

[30] Philibert (1621–1707), Comte de Gramont, subject of Hamilton's famous *Mémoires*, which were printed at Strawberry Hill in 1772.

LETTER 236.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] In a letter to Norton Nicholls on the previous day Gray wrote: 'Poor Mr W: is struck with a paralytic disorder. I know it only from the papers, but think it very likely.'

[2] Thomas Gisborne, M.D. (d. 1806), Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, subsequently Physician in Ordinary to the King, and President of the College of Physicians. He was one of the

To

The Hon^ble

Horace Walpole

Arlington Street

London.

who are most [illegible] about you, there is no
one I can well write to. in a fort:
=night or less I hope to be in
Town. Heaven preserve you, & restore
you to health & ease. I hope this
severe lesson will warn you against
that careless regimen, to wch you
were so unreasonably attach'd. I
am ever

Yours

T Gray.

Sept: 24. 1766.
Pemb: Hall.

inform himself of your health: but I fear he is out of Town, for I have received no answer. today by accident I received a letter from Cole[3], from whence I learn, thank God! that the worst part of that news was false: but that you have suffer'd much from a return of the gout, & are prevented only by weakneſs from going to Bath. it would be a singular satisfaction to me, if I might see three lines in your own hand: but it is impoſsible for me to judge, whether this is a reasonable request. I flatter myself, if you can, you will indulge me in it, especially when you know, that of those who are most about you, there is no one I can well write to. in a fortnight or leſs I hope to be in Town. Heaven preserve you, & restore you to health & ease. I hope this severe leſson will warn you against that careleſs regimen, to w^ch^ you were so unreasonably attach'd. I am ever

Yours

T GRAY.

Sept: 24. 1766
Pemb: Hall.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^
Horace Walpole in
Arlington Street
London.

physicians who attended Gray on his death-bed. (See Brown to Wharton, 30 July 1771, in Mitford's *Works of Gray*, vol. iv, p. 205.)

[3] No doubt Cole had passed on to Gray the news he had received from Walpole himself in his letter of Sept. 18: 'I am exceedingly obliged to you for your very friendly letter, and hurt at the absurdity of the newspapers that occasioned the alarm. Sure I am not of consequence enough to be lied about? It is true I am ill, have been extremely so, and have

237. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

SURELY as the letter is addreſs'd to a *Lady*, & subscribed, Your most humble *Son*, it can be to nobody but his Mother. I do not remember, that there is any superscription to it, for the *original* is not the letter itself, but a transcript of it set down in a great register-book belonging to the Privy-seal Office, in w^ch^ this stands very near to the beginning. I have mark'd the number of the Mſs, & of the article, if you chuse to consult the Musæum about it. I told you false, when I said the letter was dated: but the reason I concluded so was, that the articles, as I remember, go on regularly in the book in order of time & many come after it, that belong to the first year of his [1] reign.

been ill long, but with nothing like paralytic, as they have reported me. . . . I have been to take the air to-day for the first time, but bore it so ill that I don't know how soon I shall be able to set out for Bath, whither they want me to go immediately.'

LETTER 237.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Richard III.—Walpole was at this time engaged upon his *Historic Doubts on Richard the Third*. Writing to Cole on Dec. 19 he says: 'My *Richard the Third* will go to the press this week . . . M^r^ Gray went to Cambridge yesterday se'nnight; I wait for some papers from him for my purpose.' The book was published at the beginning of the following year. '1768. Feb. 1. Published my *Historic Doubts on Richard the Third*. I had begun it in the winter of 1767; continued it in the summer, and finished it after my return from Paris*. Twelve hundred copies were printed, and sold so very fast that a new edition was undertaken the next day of 1,000 more, & published the next week' (*Short Notes*).

* Walpole left London on 20 Aug. 1767 and returned on Oct. 12, so that by 'the winter of 1767' he means Jan.–Feb. of that year, not Nov.–Dec.

In the page, that contains his letter about Jane Shore, at a little distance below it are some abbreviated words in a cramp hand thus * * * *[2] w^ch^ seem to say something about the 9^th^ year of Henry 7^th^, but I think they relate not to this letter (w^ch^ is directed to the *B^p^ of Lincoln, his Chaunc:^r^*; now Ruſsel B^p^ of Lincoln was his Chancellor, & not so to H: 7^th^.)[3] & the few succeeding articles are really of H: 7^th^ & H: 8^th's^ time, so I suppose the words to relate to them only.

M^r^ Anstey's[4] satyr seems to aim chiefly at this University, the patrons that protect it, the clients that make their court to them, their dedications, & clumsy flattery, their method of education, & style of politicks, &c: he has not indeed refused any thing else ridiculous, that came acroſs him. I like it but little: the only things, that made me laugh, were

> Sent venison, w^ch^ was kindly taken
> And Woodcocks, w^ch^ they boild with bacon.

[2] Gray has here copied the old writing (sixteen words in four lines), which apparently reads

ffin by . . . . .
Thom Drury date
A° IX° Henrici sept
. . per Copiam . . . . . .

[3] John Russell (d. 1494), Bishop of Lincoln, 1480–94; Chancellor, 1483–85.

[4] Christopher Anstey (1724–1805), of Eton and King's College, of which he was Fellow (1746); in 1762 he published a Latin translation of Gray's *Elegy*; in 1766 appeared his famous *New Bath Guide*, 'a set of letters in verse, in all kind of verses, describing the life at Bath, and incidentally everything else' (Walpole to Montagu, 20 June 1766); in 1767 he published the satire ('written at the close of the Duke of Newcastle's Administration') alluded to by Gray, *The Patriot: A Pindaric Epistle, Addressed to Lord Buckhorse* — Buckhorse being a noted pugilist.

and the High-Sheriffs frizzled Lady, when she meet's her Husband, after he is knighted, at a ball[5].

I have been confined to my room, eversince I came hither, but not very ill. Adieu, I am

Ever Yours

T G:

[Cambridge] 24 Dec: 1767.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: SAFFRON WALDEN 25 DE *stamped:* FREE

238. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Feb. 14, 1768. Pembroke College.

I RECEIVED the book[1] you were so good to send me, and have read it again (indeed I could hardly be said to have read it before) with attention and with pleasure. Your second edition[2] is so rapid in its progreſs, that it will now hardly answer any purpose to tell you either my own objections, or those of other people. Certain it is, that you are universally read here; but what *we* think, is not so easy to come at. We stay as usual to see the succeſs, to learn the

5 'In velvet coat array'd, he
Meets at the ball his frizzled lady,
Who looks half pleas'd, and half affrighted,
E'er since her husband has been knighted.'

LETTER 238.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 368–70.

1 Walpole's *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third* (see Letter 237, n. 1).

2 See Letter 237, n. 1.

judgment of the town, to be directed in our opinions by those of more competent judges. If they like you, we shall; if any one of name write against you, we give you up: for we are modest and diffident of ourselves, and not without reason. History in particular is not our *fort*; for (the truth is) we read only modern books and the [3] pamphlets of the day. I have heard it objected, that you raise doubts and difficulties, and do not satisfy them by telling us what was [4] *really* the case. I have heard you charged with disrespect to the king of Prusia [5]; and above all to king William, and the revolution [6]. These are seriously the most sensible things I have heard said, and all that I recollect. If you please to justify yourself, you may.

My own objections are little more essential: they

[3] Gosse, Tovey, omit 'the'.

[4] Gosse, Tovey: 'is'.

[5] 'To judge impartially, we ought to recall the temper and manners of the times we read of. It is shocking to eat our enemies; but it is not so shocking in an Iroquois, as it would be in the king of Prussia' (*Hist. Doubts*, in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, pp. 127–8).

[6] 'The great regularity with which the coronation * was prepared and conducted, and the extraordinary concourse of the nobility at it, have not at all the air of an unwelcome revolution, accomplished merely by violence. On the contrary, it bore great resemblance to a much later event, which, being the last of the kind, we term *The Revolution*. The three estates of nobility, clergy, and people, which called Richard to the crown, and whose act was confirmed by the subsequent parliament, trod the same steps as the convention did which elected the prince of Orange; both setting aside an illegal pretender, the legitimacy of whose birth was called in question. And though the partisans of the Stuarts may exult in my comparing king William to Richard the third, it will be no matter of triumph, since it appears that Richard's cause was as good as king William's, and that in both instances it was a free election' (*op. cit.*, p. 135).

* Of Richard III.

relate chiefly to inaccuracies of style, which either debase the expreſsion or obscure the meaning.' I could point out several small particulars of this kind, and will do so, if you think it can serve any purpose after publication. When I hear you read, they often escape me, partly because I am attending to the subject, and partly because from habit I understand you where a stranger might often be at a loſs.

As to your arguments, most of the principal parts are made out with a clearneſs and evidence that no one would expect where materials are so scarce. Yet I still suspect Richard of the murder of Henry VI. The chronicler of Croyland charges it full on him[7], though without a name or any mention of circumstances. The interests of Edward were the interests of Richard too, though the throne were not then in view; and that Henry still stood in their way, they might well imagine, because, though deposed and imprisoned once before, he had regained his liberty, and his crown; and was still adored by the people. I should think, from the word *tyranni*, the paſsage was written after Richard had aſsumed the crown: but, if it was earlier, does not the bare imputation imply very early suspicions at least of Richard's bloody nature, especially in the mouth of a person that was no enemy to the house of York, nor friend to that of Beaufort?

That the ducheſs of Burgundy, to try the temper of the nation, should set up a false pretender to the

[7] 'Parcat Deus, et spatium pœnitentiæ ei donet, *quicùnque* sacrilegas manus in christum Domini ausus est immittere. Unde et agens tyranni, patiensque gloriosi martyris titulum mereatur' (quoted by Walpole, *op. cit.*, p. 115).

throne (when she had the true duke of York in her hands), and that the queen-mother (knowing her son was alive) should countenance that design [8], is a piece of policy utterly incomprehensible; being the most likely means to ruin their own scheme, and throw a just suspicion of fraud and falsehood on the cause of truth, which Henry could not fail to seize and turn to his own [9] advantage.

Mr. Hume's first query [10], as far as relates to the queen-mother, will still have some weight. Is it probable, she should give her eldest daughter to Henry, and invite him to claim the crown, unleſs she had been sure that her sons were then dead? As to her seeming consent to the match between Elizabeth and Richard, she and her daughters were in his power, which appeared now well fixed, his enemies' designs within the kingdom being every where defeated, and Henry unable to raise any considerable force abroad. She was timorous and hopeleſs; or she might diſsemble, in order to cover her secret dealings with Richmond: and if this were the case, she hazarded little, supposing Richard to diſsemble too, and never to have thought seriously of marrying his niece.

Another unaccountable thing is, that Richard, a prince of the house of York, undoubtedly brave, clear-sighted, artful, attentive to buſineſs; of boundleſs generosity, as appears from his grants; just and merciful, as his laws and his pardons seem to testify; having

[8] See *Hist. Doubts*, in *Works*, ii. 152.

[9] Gosse, Tovey, omit 'own'.

[10] See *Hist. Doubts*, in *Works*, ii. 162–3.

subdued the queen and her hated faction, and been called first to the protectorship and then to the crown by the body of the nobility[11] and by the parliament; with the common people to friend (as Carte[12] often aſserts), and having nothing against him but the illegitimate family of his brother Edward, and the attainted house of Clarence (both of them within his power); —that such a man should see within a few months Buckingham, his best friend, and almost all the southern and western counties on one day in arms against him; that, having seen all these insurrections come to nothing, he should march with a gallant army against a handful of needy adventurers, led by a fugitive, who had not the shadow of a title, nor any virtues to recommend him, nor any foreign strength to depend on; that he should be betrayed by almost all his troops, and fall a sacrifice;—all this is to me utterly improbable, and I do not ever expect to see it accounted for.

I take this opportunity to tell you, that Algarotti[13] (as I see in the new edition of his works printed at Leghorn)[14] being employed to buy pictures for the king of Poland[15], purchased among others the famous Holbein, that was at Venice. It don't appear that he knew any thing of your book: yet he calls it *the consul*

[11] Gosse, Tovey: 'by the nobility'.

[12] Thomas Carte (1686–1754), whose *History of England* was published in four volumes in 1747–55.

[13] Francesco Algarotti (1712–64), Italian philosopher and writer on art, author of *Saggi sopra le belle Arti*. He was made a Count of Prussia (1740) by Frederick the Great, and Court Chamberlain (1747).

[14] In four volumes, 1763–65.

[15] Augustus III (1733–63), by whom he was made a Privy Councillor.

Meyer and his family[16], as if it were then known to be so in that city.

A young man here, who is a diligent reader of books, an antiquary, and a painter, informs me, that at the Red-lion inn at Newmarket is a piece of tapestry containing the very design of your marriage of Henry the sixth[17], only with several more figures in it, both men and women; that he would have bought it of the people, but they refused to part with it.

Mr. Mason, who is here, desires to present his respects to you. He says, that to efface from our annals the history of any tyrant is to do an essential injury to mankind: but he forgives it, because you have shown Henry the seventh to be a greater devil than Richard.

Pray do not be out of humour. When you first commenced an author, you exposed yourself to pit, box[18] and gallery. Any coxcomb in the world may come in and hiss, if he pleases; aye, and (what is almost as bad) clap too, and you cannot hinder him. I saw a little squib fired at you in a newspaper by some of the *house of York*, for speaking lightly of chancellors[19]. Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

[16] See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. iii, p. 66.

[17] See Letter 186.

[18] Gosse, Tovey: 'boxes'.

[19] Walpole 'speaks lightly' of no less than five Chancellors, viz. John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor, 1473, 1487–1500 (see *Hist. Doubts*, in *Works*, ii, pp. 120–1); Thomas Rotheram, Archbishop of York, Chancellor, 1474–83, whom he calls 'a silly prelate' (*op. cit.*, p. 126); Sir Thomas More, Chancellor, 1529–32, reputed author of *Life of Richard III*, whom he accuses of wilful falsehood, of incompetence as a historian, and of egregious absurdity (*op. cit.*,

239. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

Arlington-street, February 18, 1768.

YOU have sent me a long and very obliging letter, and yet I am extremely out of humour with you. I saw *poems* by *Mr. Gray* advertised: I called directly at Dodsley's to know if this was to be more than a new edition? He was not at home himself, but his foreman told me he thought there were some new pieces, and notes to the whole. It was very unkind, not only to go out of town without mentioning them to me, without showing them to me, but not to say a word of them in this letter. Do you think I am indifferent, or not curious, about what you write? I have ceased to ask you, because you have so long refused to show me any thing. You could not suppose I thought that you never write. No; but I concluded you did not intend, at least yet,

pp. 133–4, 144–5); Sir Francis Bacon, Chancellor, 1618–21, author of *Life of Henry VII* (*op. cit.*, pp. 144–5); and Lord Clarendon, Chancellor, 1658–67, author of the *History of the Rebellion* (*op. cit.*, p. 144 n., where in a note appended to a remark censuring 'the two chancellors, Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon' as historians, Walpole writes: 'It is unfortunate, that another great chancellor should have written a history with the same propensity to misrepresentation, I mean lord Clarendon. It is hoped no more chancellors will write our story, till they can divest themselves of that habit of their profession, apologizing for a bad cause.') The 'house of York' alluded to by Gray was the Yorke family, to which belonged the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor, 1737–56, and his son, the second Earl, at this time High Steward of Cambridge University (see Letter 226, n. 7).

LETTER 239.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 371–4.

to publish what you had written. As you did intend it, I might have expected a month's preference. You will do me the justice to own that I had always rather have seen your writings than have shown you mine; which you know are the most hasty trifles in the world, and which, though I may be fond of the subject when fresh, I constantly forget in a very short time after they are published. This would sound like affectation to others, but will not to you. It would be affected, even to you, to say I am indifferent to fame—I certainly am not, but I am indifferent to almost any thing I have done to acquire it. The greater part are mere compilations; and no wonder they are, as you say, incorrect, when they are commonly written with people in the room, as Richard and the Noble Authors were. But I doubt there is a more intrinsic fault in them; which is, that I cannot correct them. If I write tolerably, it must be at once; I can neither mend nor add. The articles of lord Capel and lord Peterborough, in the second edition of the Noble Authors, cost me more trouble than all the rest together: and you may perceive that the worst part of Richard, in point of ease and style, is what relates to the papers you gave me on Jane Shore, because it was tacked on so long afterwards, and when my impetus was chilled. If some time or other you will take the trouble of pointing out the inaccuracies of it, I shall be much obliged to you: at present I shall meddle no more with it. It has taken its fate: nor did I mean to complain. I found it was condemned indeed beforehand, which was what I alluded to. Since publication (as has

happened to me before) the succeſs has gone beyond my expectation.

Not only at Cambridge, but here, there have been people wise enough to think me too free with the king of Pruſsia[1]! A newspaper has talked of my known inveteracy to him.—Truly, I love him as well as I do most kings. The greater offence is my reflection on lord Clarendon[2]. It is forgotten that I had overpraised him before. Pray turn to the new State Papers, from which, *it is said*, he composed his history. You will find they are the papers from which he did *not* compose his history. And yet I admire my lord Clarendon more than these pretended admirers do. But I do not intend to justify myself. I can as little satisfy those who complain that I do not let them know what *really did* happen. If this inquiry can ferret out any truth, I shall be glad. I have picked up a few more circumstances. I now want to know what Perkin Warbeck's proclamation was, which Speed in his history says is preserved by bishop Leslie[3]. If you look in Speed, perhaps you will be able to aſsist me[4].

The duke of Richmond[5] and lord Lyttelton[6] agree with you, that I have not disculpated Richard of the murder of Henry VI. I own to you, it is the crime of which in my own mind I believe him most guiltleſs. Had I thought he committed it, I should never have taken the trouble to apologize for the rest. I am not

[1] See Letter 238, n. 5.
[2] See Letter 238, n. 19.
[3] John Leslie (1527–96), Bishop of Ross, author of a History of Scotland in Latin, published at Rome in 1578.
[4] See Letter 240.
[5] Charles Lennox (1735–1806), third Duke of Richmond.
[6] See Letter 161, n. 5.

at all positive or obstinate on your other objections, nor know exactly what I believe on many points of this story. And I am so sincere, that, except a few notes hereafter, I shall leave the matter to be settled or discuſsed by others. As you have written much too little, I have written a great deal too much, and think only of finishing the two or three other things I have begun—and of those, nothing but the last volume of painters is designed for the present public. What has one to do when turned fifty, but really think of *finishing*?

I am much obliged and flattered by Mr. Mason's approbation, and particularly by having had almost the same thought with him. I said, 'People need not be angry at my excusing Richard; I have not diminished their fund of hatred, I have only transferred it from Richard to Henry.'—Well, but I have found you close with Mason—No doubt, cry prating I, something will come out[7].—Oh! no—leave us, both of you, to Annabellas[8] and Epistles to Ferney[9], that give Voltaire an account of his own tragedies, to Macarony fables that are more unintelligible than Pilpay's[10] are in the original, to Mr. Thornton's hurdy-gurdy poetry[11], and

[7] 'I found him close with Swift—Indeed?—No doubt, (Cries prating Balbus) something will come out.' Pope's *Epistle to Arbuthnot. Walpole.*

[8] *Amabella*, a poem by Edward Jerningham (1727–1812), published anonymously this year.

[9] *Ferney, an Epistle to M. de Voltaire*, by George Keate (1729–97), published this year.

[10] The fables of Bidpai (or Pilpay), a collection of Hindu stories.

[11] Bonnell Thornton (1724–68), author of a burlesque *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day, adapted to the Antient British Musick: the Salt Box, the Jew's Harp, the Marrow*

to Mr. ——, who has imitated himself worse than any fop in a magazine would have done. In truth, if you should abandon us, I could not wonder—When Garrick's prologues and epilogues, his own Cymons [12] and farces, and the comedies of the fools that pay court to him, are the delight of the age, it does not deserve any thing better.

Pray read the new account of Corsica [13]. What relates to Paoli [14] will amuse you much. There is a deal about the island and its divisions that one does not care a straw for. 'The author, Boswell, is a strange being, and, like Cambridge [15], has a rage of knowing any body that ever was talked of. He forced himself upon me at Paris in spite of my teeth and my doors, and I see has given a foolish account of all he could pick up from me about King Theodore [16]. He then took an antipathy to me on Rouſseau's account, abused me in the newspapers, and exhorted Rouſseau to do so too: but as he came to see me no more, I forgave

Bones and Cleavers, the Hum-Strum or Hurdy-Gurdy, &c. (London, 1763.)

[12] *Cymon, a Dramatic Romance*, produced at Drury Lane in 1767.

[13] *Account of Corsica*, by James Boswell (1740–95), published this year.

[14] Paschal Paoli (1725–1807), leader of the Corsicans in their struggles for independence.

[15] See Letter 43, n. 4. Miss Berry leaves the name blank.

[16] Theodore, Baron de Neuhoff, a German adventurer, who in return for assistance rendered to the rebellious Corsicans was (in 1736) proclaimed King by them. He was finally expelled by the French, and took refuge in England, where he was imprisoned for debt. He obtained his release on registering his 'kingdom' for the benefit of his creditors, and died shortly afterwards in London (Dec. 1756). Walpole, who had helped to raise a subscription for him, wrote an epitaph for his grave (in the churchyard of St. Anne's, Soho).

all the rest. I see he now is a little sick of Rouſseau himself, but I hope it will not cure him of his anger to me. However, his book will I am sure entertain you.

I will add but a word or two more. I am criticized for the expreſsion *tinker up* in the preface[17]. Is this one of those that you object to? I own I think such a low expreſsion, placed to ridicule an absurd instance of wise folly, very forcible. Replace it with an elevated word or phrase, and to my conception it becomes as flat as poſsible.

George Selwyn says I may, if I please, write historic doubts on the present duke of G—— too. Indeed, they would be doubts, for I know nothing certainly[18].

Will you be so kind as to look into Leslie de rebus Scotorum, and see if Perkin's proclamation is there, and if there, how authenticated? You will find in Speed my reason for asking this.

I have written in such a hurry, I believe you will scarce be able to read my letter—and as I have just

[17] 'The want of records, of letters, of printing, of critics; wars, revolutions, factions, and other causes occasioned these defects in ancient history. Chronology and astronomy are forced to tinker up & reconcile as well as they can those uncertainties.'

[18] Walpole here alludes to the relations of his niece, the Dowager Countess Waldegrave, with the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III. Lady Waldegrave had in fact been privately married to the Duke on Sept. 6, 1766, but by the Duke's desire, the marriage was not publicly acknowledged until 1772. When the Duke first distinguished Lady Waldegrave by his attentions, Walpole expressed to his niece his strong disapproval of the connexion. This, and his refusal to meet the Duke, caused a breach of Walpole's friendship with Lady Waldegrave until after the public announcement of her marriage.

been writing French [19], perhaps the sense may not be clearer than the writing. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

240. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Pembroke-college, Feb. 25, 1768.

TO your friendly accusation, I am glad I can plead not guilty with a safe conscience. Dodsley told me in the spring that the plates from Mr. Bentley's designs were worn out, and he wanted to have them copied and reduced to a smaller scale for a new edition. I diſsuaded him from so silly an expense, and desired he would put in no ornaments at all. The *Long Story* was to be totally omitted, as its only use (that of explaining the prints) was gone: but to supply the place of it in bulk, lest *my works* should be mistaken for the works of a flea, or a pismire, I promised to send him an equal weight of poetry or prose: so, since my return hither, I put up about two ounces of stuff; viz. The Fatal Sisters, The Descent of Odin (of both which you have copies), a bit of something from the Welch, and certain little notes, partly from justice (to acknowledge the debt, where I had borrowed any thing), partly from ill temper, just to tell the gentle reader, that Edward I. was not Oliver Cromwell, nor queen Elizabeth the

[19] No doubt to Madame du Deffand, who, in a letter to Walpole of Feb. 24, acknowledges the receipt of one from him on that day.

LETTER 240.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 374–6.

witch of Endor[1]. This is literally all; and with all this I shall be but a shrimp of an author. I gave leave also to print the same thing at Glasgow[2]; but I doubt my packet has miscarried, for I hear nothing of its arrival as yet. To what you say to me so civilly, that I ought to write more, I reply in your own words (like the pamphleteer, who is going to confute you out of your own mouth), What has one to do, when *turned of fifty*, but really to think of finishing? However, I will be candid (for you seem to be so with me), and avow to you, that till fourscore-and-ten, whenever the humour takes me, I will write, because I like it; and because I like myself better when I do so. If I do not write much, it is because I cannot. As you have not this

[1] The volume was published this year (in July)—*Poems by Mr. Gray.* London: Printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall. MDCCLXVIII. 8vo. The 'bit of something from the Welch' was '*The Triumphs of Owen.* A Fragment. From Mr Evans's Specimens of the Welch Poetry; London, 1764, Quarto.' The 'certain little notes' were added to the *Progress of Poesy* and to the *Bard*, as notified in an *Advertisement* prefixed to the former: 'When the Author first published this and the following Ode, he was advised, even by his Friends, to subjoin some few explanatory Notes; but had too much respect for the understanding of his Readers to take that liberty.'

[2] The Glasgow edition also appeared this year (in September)—*Poems by Mr. Gray.* Glasgow: Printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis, Printers to the University, M.DCC.LXVIII. 4to. The history of this edition is given in the following *Advertisement*: 'Some Gentlemen may be surprized to see an edition of Mr. GRAY'S POEMS printed at Glasgow, at the same time that they are printed for Mr. Dodsley at London. For their satisfaction the printers mention what follows. The property belongs to the Author, and this edition is by his permission. As an expression of their high esteem and gratitude, they have endeavoured to print it in the best manner. Mr BEATTIE *, Pro-

* James Beattie (1735–1803), whose acquaintance Gray had made in Scotland in 1765.

last plea, I see no reason why you should not continue as long as it is agreeable to yourself, and to all such as have any curiosity or judgment in the subjects[3] you choose to treat. By the way let me tell you (while it is fresh) that lord Sandwich, who was lately dining at Cambridge, speaking (as I am told) handsomely of your book, said, it was pity you did not know that his cousin Manchester had a genealogy of the kings, which came down no lower than to Richard III. and at the end of it were two portraits of Richard and his son, in which that king appeared to be a handsome man. I tell you it as I heard it: perhaps you may think it worth enquiring into[4].

fessor of Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, first proposed this undertaking. When he found that it was most agreeable to the printers, he procured Mr. GRAY's consent*, and transcribed the whole with accuracy. His transcription is followed in this Edition. This is the first work in the Roman character which they have printed with so large a type; and they are obliged to DOCTOR WILSON† for preparing so expeditiously, and with so much attention, characters of so beautiful a form.' The contents are the same as those of Dodsley's edition, but somewhat differently arranged, the notes in the Glasgow edition being collected together at the end of the volume.

[3] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'subject'.

[4] In his *Supplement to the Historic Doubts*, published in 1769, Walpole writes: 'The earl of Sandwich, on reading my Doubts, obligingly acquainted me that the duke of Manchester was possessed of a most curious and original roll, containing the list, portraits, & descent of all the earls of Warwick drawn by John Rous himself, the antiquary. This singular manuscript his grace, at my desire, was so good as to lend me; and with his permission I caused ten of the last and most curious portraits to be traced off, and here present them to the public faithfully and exactly engraven.' (*Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, p. 216.)

* See Gray's letters to Beattie of 24 Dec. 1767; 1 Feb. 1768; 31 Oct. 1768; 16 July 1769.

† Alexander Wilson, M.D. (1714–86), Professor of Astronomy at Glasgow University; he had set up a type foundry at Camlachie, near Glasgow.

I have looked into Speed and Leslie[5]. It appears very odd, that Speed in the speech he makes for P. Warbeck, addreſsed to James IV. of Scotland, should three times cite the *manuscript proclamation* of Perkin, then in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton[6]; and yet when he gives us the proclamation afterwards (on occasion of the insurrection in Cornwall) he does not cite any such manuscript. In Caſley's Catalogue of the Cotton Library[7] you may see whether this manuscript proclamation still exists or not: if it does, it may be found at the Musæum. Leslie will give you no satisfaction at all: though no subject of England, he could not write freely on this matter; as the title of Mary his mistreſs to the crown of England was derived from that of Henry VII. Accordingly, he every where treats Perkin as an impostor; yet drops several little expreſsions inconsistent with that supposition. He has preserved no proclamation: he only puts a short speech into Perkin's mouth, the substance of which is taken by Speed, and translated in the end of his, which is a good deal longer: the whole matter is treated by Leslie very concisely and superficially. I can easily transcribe it, if you please; but I do not see that it could answer any purpose.

Mr. Boswell's book I was going to recommend to you, when I received your letter: it has pleased and

[5] See Letter 239, n. 3.

[6] Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631), collector of the famous Cottonian Library, which came into the possession of the nation in 1702, and after being severely damaged by fire (in 1731), was deposited in the British Museum in 1753.

[7] Published in 1734 (see Letter 215, n. 34).

moved me strangely, all (I mean) that relates to Paoli. He is a man born two thousand years after his time! The pamphlet proves what I have always maintained, that any fool may write a most valuable book by chance, if he will only tell us what he heard and saw with veracity. Of Mr. Boswell's truth I have not the least suspicion, because I am sure he could invent nothing of this kind. The true title of this part of his work is, A Dialogue between a Green-goose and a Hero.

I had been told of a manuscript in Benet-library: the inscription of it is *Itinerarium Fratris Simonis Simeonis*[8] *et Hugonis Illuminatoris*, 1322. Would not one think this should promise something? They were two Franciscan friars that came from Ireland, and paſsed through Wales to London, to Canterbury, to Dover, and so to France in their way to Jerusalem. All that relates to our own country has been transcribed for me, and (sorry am I to say) signifies not a halfpenny: only this little bit might be inserted in your next edition of the Painters: Ad aliud caput civitatis (Londoniæ) est monasterium nigrorum monachorum nomine West-monasterium, in quo constanter et communiter omnes reges Angliæ sepeliuntur—et eidem monasterio quasi immediatè conjungitur illud famosiſsimum palatium regis, in quo est illa vulgata camera, in cujus parietibus sunt omnes historiæ bellicæ totius Bibliæ ineffabiliter depictæ, atque in Gallico completiſsimè et perfectiſsimè conscriptæ, in non modicâ intuentium admiratione et maximâ regali magnificentiâ.

I have had certain observations on your Royal and

[8] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'Fratris Simeonis'.

Noble Authors given me to send you perhaps about three years ago: last week I found them in a drawer, and (my conscience being troubled) now enclose them to you. I have even forgot whose they are.

I have been also told of a paſsage in Ph. de Comines, which (if you know) ought not to have been paſsed over. The book is not at hand at present, and I must conclude my letter. Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

241. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

Arlington-street, Friday night, February 26 [1768].

I PLAGUE you to death, but I must reply a few more words. I shall be very glad to see in print, and to have those that are worthy see your ancient odes; but I was in hopes there were some pieces too that I had not seen. I am sorry there are not.

I troubled you about Perkin's proclamation, because Mr. Hume lays great streſs upon it, and insists, that if Perkin affirmed his brother was killed, it must have been true, if he was true duke of York. Mr. Hume would have persuaded me that the proclamation is in Stowe, but I can find no such thing there; nor, what is more, in Casley's catalogue, which I have twice looked over carefully. I wrote to sir David Dalrymple[1]

LETTER 241.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 376–8.

[1] That is, Lord Hailes; see Walpole's letter to him of 2 Feb. 1768.

in Scotland, to enquire after it, because I would produce it if I could, though it should make against me: but he, I believe, thinking I enquired with the contrary view, replied very drily, that it was published at York, and was not to be found in Scotland. Whether he is displeased that I have plucked a hair from the trefses of their great historian[2]; or whether, as I suspect, he is offended for king William[3]; this reply was all the notice he took of my letter and book. I only smiled, as I must do when I find one party is angry with me on king William's, and the other on lord Clarendon's[4] account.

The answer advertised is Guthrie's[5], who is furious that I have taken no notice of *his* History. I shall take as little of his pamphlet; but his end will be answered, if he sells that and one or two copies of his History. Mr. Hume, I am told, has drawn up an answer too, which I shall see, and, if I can, will get him to publish[6]; for, if I should ever choose to say any thing more on this subject, I had rather reply to him than to hackney-writers:—to the latter, indeed, I never will reply[7]. A few notes I have to add that will be very material; and I wish to get some account

[2] Hume.

[3] See Letter 238, n. 6.

[4] See Letter 238, n. 19.

[5] See Letter 230, n. 3; he published a *History of England* in 1744–51; and a *General History of Scotland* in 1767.

[6] Hume communicated to Walpole what the latter characterized as very unsubstantial arguments, and then handed them to a Swiss writer, Deyverdun, who reproduced them in his *Mémoires littéraires de la Grande Bretagne* for 1768. Walpole deals with them in the *Supplement to the Historic Doubts* (see also *Short Notes* for 1769).

[7] As a matter of fact, Walpole subsequently devoted several pages to Guthrie in the *Supplement to the Historic Doubts*.

of a book that was once sold at Osborn's [8], that exists perhaps at Cambridge, and of which I found a memorandum t'other day in my note-book. It is called A paradox, or apology for Richard III. by sir William Cornwallis [9]. If you could discover it, I should be much obliged to you.

Lord Sandwich, with whom I have not exchanged a syllable since the general warrants, very obligingly sent me an account of the roll at Kimbolton; and has since, at my desire, borrowed it for me and sent it to town [10]. It is as long as my lord Lyttelton's History [11]; but by what I can read of it (for it is both ill-written and much decayed), it is not a roll of kings, but of all that have been poſseſsed of, or been earls of Warwick: or have not—for one of the first earls is Æneas. How, or wherefore, I do not know, but amongst the first is Richard III. in whose reign it was finished, and with whom it concludes. He is there again with his wife and son, and Edward IV. and Clarence [12] and his wife, and Edward their son (who unluckily is a little old man), and Margaret counteſs of Salisbury, their daugh-

[8] Thomas Osborne (d. 1767), the bookseller.

[9] Sir William Cornwallis, Knight (d. *c.* 1631), author of *Essayes of certaine Paradoxes*, one of which is entitled *The Praise of King Richard III* (see Letter 242).

[10] See Letter 240, n. 4. From this roll were taken the two plates of portraits in the *Historic Doubts*, first published in *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. ii, pp. 166–7.

[11] *History of the Life of Henry the Second, and of the Age in which he lived*, of which the first three volumes appeared in 1767.

[12] George Plantagenet (1449–78), Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV; m. (1469) Lady Isabel Nevill, eldest daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury. Their son was Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, beheaded in 1499.

ter—But why do I say with these? There is every body else too—and what is most meritorious, the habits of all the times are admirably well observed from the most savage ages. Each figure is tricked with a pen, well drawn, but neither coloured nor shaded. Richard is straight, but thinner than my print; his hair short, and exactly curled in the same manner; not so handsome as mine, but what one might really believe intended for the same countenance, as drawn by a different painter, especially when so small; for the figures in general are not so long as one's finger. His queen is ugly, and with just such a square forehead as in my print, but I cannot say like it. Nor, indeed, where forty-five figures out of fifty (I have not counted the number) must have been imaginary, can one lay great streſs on the five. I shall, however, have these figures copied, especially as I know of no other image of the son. Mr. Astle[13] is to come to me to-morrow morning to explain the writing.

I wish you had told me in what age your Franciscan friars lived; and what the paſsage in Comines is[14]. I am very ready to make amende honorable.

Thank you for the notes on the Noble Authors. They shall be inserted when I make a new edition, for the sake of the trouble the person has taken, though they are of little consequence. Dodsley has asked me for a new edition; but I have had little heart to undertake such work, no more than to mend my old linen. It is pity one cannot be born an

[13] Thomas Astle (1735–1803), antiquary and palaeographer.
[14] See Letter 240 *ad fin.*

ancient, and have commentators to do such jobs for one! Adieu!

Yours ever,
HOR. WALPOLE.

Saturday morning.

On reading over your letter again this morning, I do find the age in which the friars lived—I read and write in such a hurry, that I think I neither know what I read or say.

242. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Pembroke-hall, March 6, 1768.

HERE is sir William Cornwallis, entitled Eſsayes of certaine Paradoxes. 2d Edit. 1617, Lond.

King Richard III.
The French Pockes
Nothing
Good to be in debt
Sadneſse
Julian the Apostate's vertues.
} praised.

The title-page will probably suffice you; but if you would know any more of him, he has read nothing but the common chronicles, and those without attention: for example, speaking of Anne the queen, he says, she was *barren*, of which Richard had often complained to Rotheram. He extenuates the murder of Henry VI.

LETTER 242.—Reprinted from *Works of Lord Orford*, vol. v, pp. 379–80.

and his son: the first, he says, might be a malicious accusation[1], for that many did suppose he died of mere melancholy and grief: the latter cannot be proved to be the action of Richard (though executed in his presence); and if it were, he did it out of love to his brother Edward. He justifies the death of the lords at Pomfret, from reasons of state, for his own preservation, the safety of the commonwealth, and the ancient nobility. The execution of Hastings he excuses from neceſsity, from the dishonesty and sensuality of the man: what was his crime with respect to Richard, he does not say. Dr. Shaw's sermon[2] was not by the king's command, but to be imputed to the preacher's own ambition: but if it was by order, *to charge his mother with adultery was a matter of no such great moment, since it is no wonder in that sex.* Of the murder in the Tower he doubts; but if it were by his order, the offence was to God, not to his people; and *how could he demonstrate his love more amply, than to venture his soul for their quiet?* Have you enough, pray? You see it is an idle declamation, the exercise of a school-boy that is to be bred a statesman.

I have looked in Stowe: to be sure there is no proclamation there. Mr. Hume, I suppose, means *Speed*, where it is given, how truly I know not; but that he

[1] Mitford, Gosse, Tovey: 'insinuation'.

[2] Dr. Ralph Shaw (d. 1484), who preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross on 22 June 1483, impugning the validity of Edward IV's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville (Lady Grey), and claiming that the crown belonged by right to the Protector Richard; he further asserted that Edward IV was himself a bastard, and thus charged Richard's own mother with adultery.

had seen the original is sure, and seems to quote the very words of it in the beginning of that speech which Perkin makes to James IV. and also just afterwards, where he treats of the Cornish rebellion.

Guthrie, you see, has vented himself in the Critical Review[3]. His History I never saw, nor is it here, nor do I know any one that ever saw it. He is a rascal, but rascals may chance to meet with curious records; and that commiſsion to sir J. Tyrrell[4] (if it be not a lye) is such: so is the order for Henry the sixth's funeral. I would by no means take notice of him, write what he would. I am glad you have seen the Manchester-roll[5].

It is not I that talk of Phil. de Comines; it was mentioned to me as a thing that looked like a voluntary omiſsion: but I see you have taken notice of it in the note to p. 71, though rather too slightly. You have not observed that the same writer says, c. 55, *Richard tua de sa main, ou fit tuer en sa presence, quelque lieu apart, ce bon homme le roi Henry.* Another oversight I think there is at p. 43, where you speak of the *roll of parliament* and the contract with lady Eleanor Boteler[6], as

[3] Walpole deals with this review in the *Supplement to the Historic Doubts.*

[4] Sir James Tyrrell (d. 1502), the supposed murderer of Edward V and his brother, Richard, Duke of York, in the Tower (1483).

[5] See Letter 240, n. 4.

[6] See *Historic Doubts* (in *Works*, ii, p. 133): 'We have the best & most undoubted authorities to assure us, that Edward's precontract or marriage, urged to invalidate his match with the lady Grey, was with the lady Eleanor Talbot, widow of lord Butler of Sudely, and sister of the earl of Shrewsbury . . . her mother was the lady Katherine Stafford, daughter of Humphrey duke of Buckingham, prince of the blood.'

things newly come to light; whereas Speed has given at large the same roll in his History. Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

243. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

Arlington Street

March 8. 1768

I DONT mean to trouble you with any farther Searches; but I must thank you for your readineſs to oblige me. I will try to return it by keeping the Roll[1] as long as I can, that you may see it, if you look Londonwards; it is really a great Curiosity, & will furnish one with remarks. Not that I am going to answer such trumpery as Guthrie's[2], who does not seem to disagree with me (tho I scarce can discover the scope of his jumbled arguments) but is angry I did not declare I agreed with him, tho I vow I never saw his book. It shall rest in peace for me, as all such Writers ever shall. The few Criticisms I have suffered have done more than my own arguments coud: They have strengthened my opinion, seeing how little can be advanced to overturn it. Mr Hume has shown me an answer he has drawn up. It is nothing but his former arguments enlarged: no one new fact or new light[3]. I am trying

LETTER 243.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] See Letter 240, n. 4.

[2] See Letter 241, n. 7.

[3] See Letter 241, n. 6.

to persuade him to publish it, that I may have occasion to add a Short appendix, with some striking particulars; not, to dispute more with him. I propose too to give eight or nine figures from Rous's roll[4]. In the Coronation roll, is this Entry, which you & I overlooked: *Things ordered in haste by My Lord Duke of Buckingham.* Then Immediately follow the Robes for Edward 5th.—proof I think of the Design that He shoud walk.

I shall correct a mistake I find (by Guthrie) I made, about the Duke of Albany[5]. For the Confeſsion of the Lady Butler, I take it to be an absolute Lie. The Commiſsion of Sr James Tirrel I have not had time to search for in Rymer, where I suppose it is, if any where. But you did not observe that It is dated in Nov. 1482. Consequently under Edward 4th. & if true, contradicts Sr T. More, who says Tirrel was kept down. If the Date shoud be 83; it was subsequent by two or three months to the time aſsigned for the murder. But enough of all this till I see you.

Have you read the two new volumes of Swift[6]? The Second is the dullest heap of trumpery, flattery, & folly. The first is curious indeed! what a Man! what childish, vulgar Stuff! what groſs language to his Goddeſs! what a curious Scene when the Ministry thought themselves ruined! what Cowardice in Such a Bully!—then his libels, & his exciting the Ministers to punish libels in the same breath!—the next moment

4 See Letter 241, n. 10.

5 See *Supplement to the Historic Doubts*, in *Works*, ii. 191.

6 The last two volumes of Hawkesworth's edition of Swift's *Letters*, viz. vols. iii and iv (edited by Deane Swift and published this year), of which the former contains the *Journal to Stella*.

generous & benevolent. But his great Offence with me, is preventing a poor fellow from being pardoned, who was accused of ravishing his own Strumpet.

I think you will like Sterne's sentimental travels[7], which tho often tiresome, are exceedingly goodnatured & picturesque. Good night!

yrs ever

HW.

P.S.

I this moment hear that the Robbery & setting fire to Mr Conway's House[8] was committed by a Servant belonging to the Duke of Richmond. I know no more yet. They had a great Escape of their lives, tho the loſs & damage is considerable; & they have been most unhappy, as they have none but old & faithfull Servants, & coud not be persuaded any of them were guilty.

[7] *Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*, by Mr. Yorick (2 vols. 12mo, 1768).

[8] 'Mr Conway and Lady Ailesbury have had a signal escape . . . last Wednesday, they were waked at six in the morning with an alarm that the house was on fire. It was so; a new library, just finished, was in flames. Many of the books are destroyed, many damaged; pictures burnt, and some papers, and nine hundred pounds in bank-notes, gone; all appearances of a robbery attempted to be concealed by setting fire to the room in three places. Thus the suspicion fell on a set of old and faithful servants. I now hear that the assassin is discovered, and is a servant of the Duke of Richmond' (Walpole to Mann, 8 March 1768).

244. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

MR. GRAY (upon the information of Mr Palgrave[1]) lets Mr Walpole know, that there is at *Luton* a Chappel[2] built in Henry 7th's time by a Lord Hoo & Hastings[3] & lined throughout with most beautiful Gothick woodwork: this is going to be demolish'd, & he imagines, Mr Walpole may have its inside for a song.

Friday. [April, 1769][4] Jermyn-Street[5].

Folded as a note, and addressed: To the Hon. Horace Walpole.

LETTER 244.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] William Palgrave (1735–99), friend and correspondent of Gray, by whom he was familiarly called 'old Pa'; he was Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Rector of Thrandeston and Palgrave in Suffolk. Both he and Gray were in London at the date assigned to this note, as appears from Gray's letters to Wharton and to Brown of April, 1769.

[2] This was no doubt the private chapel at Luton Hoo, in Bedfordshire, the seat of the Marquis of Bute, in which, according to Lewis (*Topog. Dict.*, vol. iii, p. 175), there was 'some fine carved screen work, in the later English style, which originally formed the interior decoration of a chapel erected at Tittenhanger by Sir Thomas Pope in the middle of the sixteenth century'. In a letter to Lord Strafford of July 3 of this year (1769) Walpole writes: 'I hear the chapel of Luton is to be preserved; and am glad of it, though I might have been the better for its ruins'—obviously a reference to Gray's suggestion as to his acquisition of the 'Gothick woodwork'.

[3] Sir Thomas Hoo (*c.* 1400–55), created (1447) Baron of Hoo and Hastings.

[4] Date conjectural, but fixed approximately by the references to Mr. Palgrave and to the chapel at Luton (see nn. 1, 2).

[5] 'Mr Gray, when he came to town, lodged in Jermyn Street, St. James's, at Roberts's, the hosier, or at Frisby's, the oilman. They are toward the East end, on different sides of the street' (Norton Nicholls, quoted by Mitford, *Works of Gray*, vol. i, p. cx).

245. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Pembroke-Hall. 26 May. 1769

OLD Cole lives at *Water-Beach*[1] near the road from Cambridge to Ely: but I believe, you had best send the book[2] to me, & I will take care it shall be deliver'd to him. I have not seen it yet, but propose to buy it on your recommendation. if it has a hundredth part of Linnæus's[3] merit, it must be divine! what the title means, I do not conceive.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

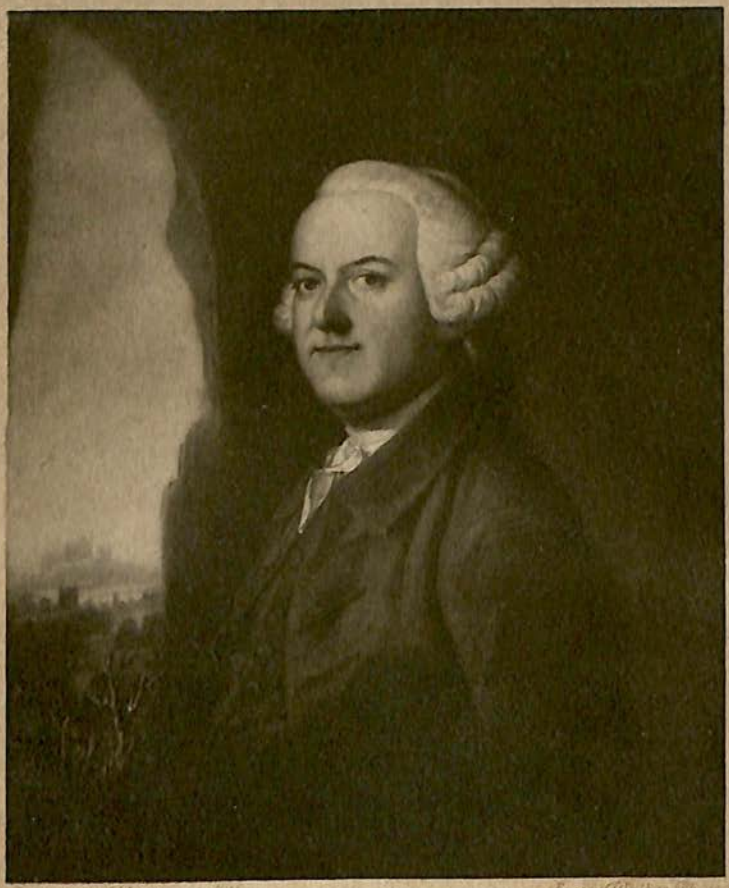
Postmark: 27
MA

LETTER 245.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Rev. William Cole (see Letter 39, n. 27) resided at Waterbeach, five miles from Cambridge, from 1768 to 1770, when he removed to Milton in the same neighbourhood.

[2] This was the *Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution, consisting of Characters dispersed in different Classes, and adapted to a Methodical Catalogue of Engraved British Heads* (Lond. 1769, 2 vols. 4to), by James Granger (1723–76), Vicar of Shiplake, as appears from Walpole's letter to Cole of May 27: 'M^r^ Gray tells me you are still at Waterbeach. M^r^ Granger has published his Catalogue of Prints and Lives down to the Revolution, and, as the work sells well, I believe, nay, do not doubt but we shall have the rest. There are a few copies printed but on one side of the leaf. As I know you love scribbling in such books as well as I do, I beg you will give me leave to make you a present of one set. I shall send it in about a week to M^r^ Gray, and have desired him, as soon as he has turned it over, to convey it to you.'

[3] Gray refers presumably to Linnæus's *Systema Naturæ*, first published at Leyden in 1735; his own interleaved copy of the fourth edition of which, Gray enriched with copious notes and 'the most delicately executed pen and ink drawings of birds, insects, and shells' (*Gent. Mag.*, 1846, p. 32).



Benjamin Wilson pinxit — Emery Walker Sc.

Thomas Gray
from the original picture painted circa 1770
in the possession of Mr John Murray

246. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

I AM ashamed to excuse myself to you, tho it was not negligence, but forgetfulneſs. the other day going into the publick Library I first recollected your commiſsion, & consulted the chronicle of Croyland[1]. the only edition I find of it, has certainly these words— sed quo genere *violenti* interitûs, ignoratur. either you have made use of some edition, where that eſsential word is omitted[2], or cited after *Buck*[3] without suspecting his fidelity.

I am ever

Yours

THO: GRAY.

Pemb: Hall. 12 Sept: 1770.

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: ROYS 13
TON SE

LETTER 246.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] This was one of the authorities quoted by Walpole in his *Historic Doubts on Richard III.* (See Letters 237–43.)

[2] In the *Historic Doubts* (in *Works*, ii. 148 note) Walpole quotes the chronicler as saying: 'Vulgatum est regis Edwardi pueros concessisse in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur.' The omission of *violenti* was charged against Walpole by Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Society of Antiquaries, in some *Observations* published by the Society in 1770. Walpole published a *Reply* (dated 28 Aug. 1770) in which he dealt with the question (see *Works*, ii. 227*–29*).

[3] Sir George Buck or Buc (d. 1623), author of the *History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third* (published in 1646), which is frequently quoted by Walpole in the *Historic Doubts*.

247. GRAY TO WALPOLE.

Sept: 17. 1770. Pemb: Coll:

I WRITE, having nothing eſsential to say, merely because you are ill[1], & have but too much time to read me. I plead no merit in my sympathy, because I have the same enemy, & am daily expecting her attacks, the more violent perhaps for having been now for some years suspended[2]. talk not of round windows, nor of dying in them: our distemper (remember) is the means of health & *long life*[3], now this latter is only the name of another distemper, of w^ch^ I know enough already to say, when the gout pinches me, *'tis well, it is nothing worse.* I do not understand, why (with your temperance) you are treated so severely; but suspect, it is owing to a little indolence & want of motion between the fits, as I have lately heard you complain of a tenderneſs in your feet, that would not let you walk as usual. Man is a creature made to be jumbled, & no matter whether he goes on his head or heels, move or be moved he must. I am convinced, I owe my late

LETTER 247.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection. This is the last letter of Gray in the present collection. His last extant letter (to Norton Nicholls) is dated 28 June 1771. He died on July 30 following.

[1] Walpole had been seized with a very severe fit of gout, which laid him up for many weeks (see letters to Lady Ossory of 15 Sept., and to Montagu of 16 Oct., 1770).

[2] He had not long to wait; in a letter to Mason of Oct. 24 he writes: 'I have been for these three weeks and more confined to my room by a fit of the gout.'

[3] Writing to Mann on Sept. 20, just after the receipt of this letter, Walpole, speaking of his illness, says: 'I taste very little comfort in that usual compliment, of the gout being an earnest of long life.'

& present ease to the little expeditions I always make in summer. the smartneſs of the pain you undergo, is an undoubted sign of strength & *youth*, & the sooner it will be over. I know, this is poor comfort: but I flatter myself, that in some few days you will be at ease, & will have the good nature to tell me so.

I have neither seen Tyson[4], nor Cole of late, but will take care they shall know, what you say. the latter lives at Milton[5] near the Ely road. for myself I shall hardly be in Town before the end of November. Adieu! I am

Yours ever

TG:

Addressed: To
The Hon^ble^ Horace Walpole
in Arlington Street
London

Postmark: ROYS 18
TON SE

248. WALPOLE TO GRAY.

Arlington Street
March 25. 1771.

I AM very much pleased with the head of Richardson[1], and very angry with Bannerman[2], who shall do

[4] Michael Tyson (1740–80), antiquary and artist, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a friend of Walpole, Gray, Cole, and Mason. It was he who made the drawing of Etough beneath which Gray wrote the epigram quoted above (see Letter 168, n. 51).

[5] See Letter 245, n. 1.

LETTER 248.—Now first printed from original in Waller Collection.

[1] Presumably Jonathan Richardson, the elder (1665–1745), the portrait-painter. He painted portraits both of Walpole and Gray in their youth, reproductions of which are included in the present work.

[2] Alexander Bannerman, an en-

nothing for me, since he will not do any thing for me. I only suspend the Bull of Excommunication, till I am sure I shall not want Him. If the young Man copies Mezzotinto, as well as he does etching, which is not probable, I shall beg you to seize the prints in Bannerman's hands, if it is not inconsistent with the Charters of the City of Cambridge, & deliver them to M^r^ Tyson's Engraver[3]. But as you talked of being in town in March, I hope to settle this with you by a verbal negotiation.

I have had my House in town broken open, & every thing broken open in my House, & I have not lost to the Value of sixpence[4]. The Story is so long, that if I began to tell it you, you woud be here before it was finished, tho you shoud not arrive till Christmas. It is talked of more than My Lord Mayor[5], & My Lord Mayor knows as much what to make of it, as any Body does. If you know any Saint that dragged a beautifull young Woman into a Wood to ravish her, & after

graver, native of Cambridge, where he was resident at this time. Walpole employed him to engrave some of the heads in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, and had offered to employ him again for the fourth and last volume, which was now preparing (see Walpole to Cole, 15 Nov. 1770), but which was not published till 19 Oct. 1780, though the printing was completed on April 13 of this year (1771), as is recorded in Walpole's MS. *Journal of the Printing-Office at Strawberry hill* (see Letter 204, n. 1).

3 See Walpole to Cole, 20 Dec. 1770.

4 See the detailed account in Walpole's letter to Mann of 22–26 March 1771.

5 Brass Crosby (1725–93), M.P. for Honiton. He had defied the House of Commons in the matter of the arrest of a printer under a general warrant, and two days after the date of this letter was committed to the Tower, where he remained until the end of the session (see Walpole to Mann, March 22, and 30).

throwing her on her back, & spreading open her Legs, walked quietly away without touching her, to show his continence, you have a faint Idea of my House-breakers. Some people have confounded me with my cousin[6] just arrived from France, & imagine they sought for French papers; others say I am Junius—but Lord help me! I am no such great Man, nor keep Treason in my glaſs-case of China. My Miniatures, thank you, are very safe, & so is Queen Elizabeth's old face[7], & all my coins & medals, tho the doors of the Cabinets were broken to pieces. you never saw such a Scene of havoc as my first floor was, & yet five pounds will repair all the damage. I have a suspicion about the person, whom we are watching, but not the least gueſs at his Selfdenial. He burst a great hole in the door of the Area, & must have had an Iron crow to force open the Chest, for the braſs flapper is bent & shivered into seven pieces, but contented himself with tumbling the prints & tapestry chairs. Silver candlesticks, linnen, spoons, nothing struck his fancy; yet he was in no hurry, for he ransacked the offices, & every room of the first floor, and nobody knows when he came in or went out, tho he seems to have taken no precaution not to be heard. There were only the two Maids in town, who were waked by a Paſsenger that found the Street door open between five & six in the Morning. In

[6] Hon. Robert Walpole (1736–1810), youngest son of Lord Walpole of Wolterton, Sir Robert Walpole's younger brother; he was Secretary to the Embassy in Paris; shortly after this date he was appointed Minister at Lisbon.

[7] No doubt the portrait mentioned in Walpole's letter to Conway of 4 June 1758.

Short, this is the first Virtuoso that ever visited a collection by main force in the middle of the night. Adieu!

yrs ever

H WALPOLE

P.S. Monday night.

I had sealed my letter, but am forced to open it again & put it in a cover, for I have this minute received yours & Thornhill[8]. The Likeneſs is well preserved & I shall not quarrel with the price, but it is too black, & the wig very hard—however as Worlidge's[9] style is fashionable, two or three more by the same hand may not displease, therefore pray trouble yourself to give the young Man two more, but none to Bannerman. Tell me how I shall send the money I owe you, besides a thousand thanks.

Addressed: To
Mr Gray
at Pembroke college
Cambridge.

[8] Sir James Thornhill (1675–1734), the painter.

[9] Thomas Worlidge (1700–66), painter and etcher.

Gray.

Crenæus, whom the Nymph Ismenis bore
To Faunus, on the Theban rivers shore
With new-born heat amidst his native stream,
He shines
~~Exults~~ in arms, which cast an iron gleam
In this clear wave he first beheld the day
On the green bank first taught his steps to stray
To skim the parent flood & on the margin play
He disdains & scorns the power of fate
Secure within his mothers watry state
The youth exulting ~~while he~~ stems the bloody tide,
~~While old Ismenus~~ Visits each bank, & stalks with martial pride
While old Ismenus gently rolls his wave,
~~And loves his offspring~~ Delights in the favour'd youth within its lave

---

Crenæus, whom the Nymph Ismenis bore
To Faunus on the Theban Rivers shore
With new-born heat amidst his native stream
Exults in arms, which cast an iron gleam
In this clear wave he first beheld the day
On the ~~gloom~~ bank first taught his steps to stray,
To skim the parent flood & on the margin play:
Fear he disdains & scorns the power of fate,
Secure within his mothers watry state.
The youth exulting stems the bloody tide,

Visits each bank & stalks with martial pride,
While old Ismenus' gently-rolling wave,
Delights the favourite youth within its flood to lave

Gaudebat Faunо, Nymphaq Ismenide natus
Maternis bellare freto Crenæus in undis
Crenæus, cui prima dies in gurgite fido
Et natale vadum et viridis cunabula ripæ
Ergo ratus nihil Elysias ibi posse sorores
Lætus adulantem nunc hoc, nunc margine illo
Evasit aurum ——
the youth obliquely steers his course
~~Whither with course direct he~~
Or cuts the downward stream with equal force
Th'indulgent river strives his steps to aid

APPENDIX A

(GRAY)

I

[TRANSLATION FROM STATIUS, *Thebaid* ix. 319–27.]

Crenæus, whom the Nymph Ismenis bore
To Faunus on the Theban Rivers shore
With new-born heat amidst his native stream
Exults in arms, which cast an iron gleam
In this clear wave he first beheld the day
On the green bank first taught his steps to stray,
To skim the parent flood & on the margin play:
Fear he disdains & scorns the power of fate,
Secure within his mothers watry state.
The youth exulting stems the bloody tide,
Visits each bank & stalks with martial pride,
While old Ismenus' gently-rolling wave,
Delights the favourite youth within its flood to lave[1]

Gaudebat Fauno, Nymphâq; Ismenide natus
Maternis bellare tener Crenæus in undis
Crenæus, cui prima dies in gurgite fido
Et natale vadum et virides cunabula ripæ
Ergo ratus nihil Elysias ibi posse sorores
Lætus adulantem nunc hoc, nunc margine ab illo
Transit avum ——

APPENDIX A 1. — Now first printed from original in Gray's handwriting among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection. The piece is written in a boyish hand. At the top of the first page Walpole has written Gray's name; at the end he has written in pencil: 'This written when he was very young.' It was no doubt an early Eton exercise.

[1] This 'fair copy' is preceded by a rough draft, with many corrections (see facsimile).

Whither the youth obliquely steers his course
Or cuts the downward stream with æqual force
Th' indulgent river strives his steps to aid

II

[Epitaph on Thomas Ashton]

Hic jacet

Quod reliquum est T: Ashton, qui siquid laudandum præ se ferret Deo tribuit, siquid non item sibi. qui vera semper quamvis ridens dicere, honesta quamvis liber agere conabatur, qui in ætate decentius lasciva[1] desipere desiit, recteq; facere quam scite loqui satius duxit, qui hâc dum fruebatur vita meliorem sperabat, Deoq; tandem O: M: credentem sese non credulum dedidit . . .[2]

Appendix A 2. — Now first printed from original in Gray's handwriting among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection. It is difficult to assign a date to this composition; to judge by the handwriting it was almost certainly written after Gray's return from his foreign tour in 1741. Ashton survived Gray four years. On the same sheet is a draft in Walpole's handwriting of his inscription for Lady Walpole's monument in Westminster Abbey, which was erected in 1754.

[1] Cf. Horace, 2 *Epist.* ii. 216: 'lasciva decentius ætas'.

[2] 'Here lie the remains of T. Ashton, who ascribed to God all that was good in his nature, to himself all that was not; whose aim was ever to be in speech truthful, though merry, in conduct seemly, though free: who, at an age when playfulness is becoming, threw folly aside, and deemed it better to be virtuous than to be witty; who enjoyed this life, but hoped for a better; and commended himself at the last, not a dupe but a believer, into the hands of Almighty God.' (Translation kindly supplied by Lord Kilbracken.)

Vol. ii, page 300.

It appears from an entry in a MS. *Common Place Book* of Horace Walpole in the Collection of Earl Waldegrave at Chewton Priory, to which the Editor has had access since these volumes were printed off, that the epitaph on Ashton, here attributed to Gray (the MS. of it in the Waller Collection being in his hand-writing), was written by Ashton himself about the year 1742.

1699 Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton
October 1915

To face p. 300

APPENDIX B

(WEST)

I

Foliisq$_3$ Notas & Nomina mandat[1].

Mirandas Scripturæ Artes, expreſsaq$_3$ Vocis
Humanæ Simulacra cano; calamiq$_3$ fidele
Officium, & magicæ vix muta Silentia chartæ.
Hanc Cadmus primùm, sic Famæ creditur, Artem
Extudit[2], & rudibus Signis Elementa Loquelæ
Composuit: nondùm Tabulis inducere Ceras
In promptu fuit, aut inculto innotuit Orbi
Membrana Attalica[3], & Nilo cognata Papyrus.
Tantùm inter densas errat miserabilis Umbras
Scriptorum Chorus; ac Numeros in Cortice signans
Montibus & Sylvis studio disperdit Inani:
Musæq$_3$ Dryadesq$_3$ simul per Rura vagantur.
Nusquàm adeò sine Vate suo Nemus: undiq$_3$ sese
Induere in Versus, & doctum attollere Truncum
Arbor amat, paſsimq$_3$ inolescunt Frondibus ipsis
Carmina Pastorum, Foliisq$_3$ sub omnibus hærent[4].
Mox Artes subiere novæ, duramq$_3$ reliquit
Pallas Hamadryada, & fugit Commercia Sylvæ
Indignata: Meisne, inquit, Lignator agrestis

APPENDIX B 1. — This piece (now first identified as by West), which was written as an Eton exercise (probably in 1733 or 1734), and as such was printed (anonymously) in *Musæ Etonenses* (Lond. 1755, vol. i, pp. 21–4), is preserved (in an unidentified handwriting) among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection. Walpole has written West's name at the end.

[1] *Aen.* iii. 444. The subject is the invention of the alphabet, of writing, and of the printing-press.

[2] *Georg.* iv. 315.

[3] Parchment — Attalus was king of Pergamum, where parchment is said to have been invented.

[4] *Aen.* vi. 284 (see Letter 39, n. 11).

Vatibus illudet? sævámne in Carmina Dextram
Intendet? Nemorísne Sacri vastabit Honores
Facundam violans Umbram, viridesq, Palæstras?
Nempè Focum ut cumulet pretioso Robore vilem!
Quin Sedes quærenda alio, melioribus opto
Auspiciis, & quæ fuerit minùs obvia Ferro.
Talia flammato secum Dea corde volutans[5]
Protinùs egregias e Cælo detulit Artes,
Dulce Ministerium Calami, fidasq, Tabellas,
Romanumq, Stylum, Ceræq, Interpretis Usum;
Quicquid habent Telorum Armamentaria[6] Vatum.
Præcipuè acceptus Musis, Argenteus Anser[7]
Portat Opes Tergo, potiores Vellere Phryxi.
Hâc Pennas Scriptor promtas, sua Tela, Pharetrâ
Artifici incidit Ferro, fingitq, terendo.
Protinus in nigrum Humorem demittit Acumen
Chartæq, a lævâ pænè indelebile Virus
Illinit[8], & tenui discriminat omnia Tractu.
Apparent subjectæ oculis super Æquora Chartæ
Dispositi in Numerum Versus, Phœbiq, Labores;
Cælestes Artes! cælestia Munera! per Vos
Suavitèr Absenti conspirat Amicus Amico:
Trans Mare Mercator secura Negotia mittit,
Basiaq, a Thamesi extremos portantur ad Indos,
Signatis conclusa Notis, rubrâq, Catenâ.
Usq, adeò Unanimes Tabulas, Succosq, loquaces
Æquora per, Scopulosq, & vasta Cacumina Tauri
Expedit Alma Venus, Venerisq, Puer Cytherëæ. —

Atq, Hîc Palladii referam Miracula Prælî;
Ut nigro levitèr Succo tinguntur ahænæ
Litterulæ, Foliisq, Notas & Nomina mandat.
Tot Mole Ingentes Libros (quis crederet unquàm?)
Tot Paracelsorum malè Græca & barbara dicta,

[5] *Aen.* i. 50.
[6] Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 83.
[7] *Aen.* viii. 655.
[8] Horace, 1 *Sat.* iv. 36

Tot Legum digesta; tot, Ambitione docendi,
Philosophos Vera Obscuris involvere suetos,
Litterularum Ordo, quas Balbutire laborant
Infantes Pueri, comprêndit, & exprimit Aptè!

E Prælis etiàm manat Rumore secundo
Tam Ficti praviq, tenax quàm Nuntia Veri
Chartula, D'Anverius[9] Mendax, Baviusq,[10] secundus
Osbornusq,[11] Sagax, & quo te Nomine dicam
Infamis Nebulo! —
Turbaq, Scriptorum minor, Obscurique Libelli.

Deniq, Lingua sonos liquidas quot fundit in Auras
Plena repræsentat variatis Pagina Signis:
Et Vocis depicta Oculis occurrit Imago.

R. West[12]

[c. 1733–4]

II

— Visendi studio Trojana Juventus
Circumfusa ruit[1].

Lampade Phœbeâ, Radiorum fonte perenni,
Lux oritur, liquidumq, levi cursu æthera tranat.
Hinc derivatus, nostro transmittitur Orbi

9 Caleb D'Anvers, pseudonym of Nicholas Amhurst, editor of the *Craftsman*, the organ of the Opposition, founded in 1726 by Pulteney and Bolingbroke, which for many years vehemently denounced Sir Robert Walpole and his policy.

10 The name assumed by the editor of the *Grub-Street Journal*.

11 Francis Osborne, who in the *London Journal*, and afterwards in the *Daily Gazetteer*, defended Sir Robert Walpole's administration against the attacks of the *Craftsman*.

12 West's name has been appended by Walpole.

Appendix B 2. — This piece (now first identified as by West) is preserved (in an unidentified handwriting) among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection. Walpole has written West's name at the end. It was an Eton exercise, and as such was printed (anonymously) in *Musæ Etonenses* (Lond. 1755, vol. ii, pp. 80–4). The date of composition is determined by the reference to the visit to Eton of the Cherokee Indians in Sept. 1734 (see n. 9).

1 *Aen.* ii. 63–4.

Omnigenus Color[2], & species nitidiſsima rerum :
Hìnc splendor Gemmarum, & florida Gratia Veris,
Hìnc Picturatæ Nubes, & Templa Tonantis
Cærula ; nempè Oculis fluidæ vis aurea lucis
Plurima se effundit, texitq$_3$ Coloribus Auras.
Quàcunq$_3$ aspicias, suavis se ostentat Imago ;
Omnia per Cælum, Terrasq$_3$ atq$_3$ Æquora Ponti
Suavitèr arrident : Acies tamèn improba poscit
Plura dari, nequeunt expleri Corda videndo.

Primùm Ergò Novitatis Amor Mortalibus udum
Fecit iter Maris, & solidæ Telluris Alumnos
Impulit in fluctus : Gentili excedere Terrâ
Gaudentes, interq$_3$ undas, interq$_3$ Procellas,
Aëris Externi patiuntur frigora Nautæ :
Excoctosq$_3$ Artus Alieno sole perurunt.

Ille ad Lilliputas[3] fertur, somnoq$_3$ solutus
Exiguum Martem, vinclisq$_3$ innexa pusillis
Miratur membra, errantemq$_3$ in Pectora Gentem,
Qualitèr innumerum per terrea Castra laborat
Formicarum agmen, steriliq$_3$; in pulvere vivit.

Mox Populum horrescit Cælo Capita alta ferentem[4]
Et greſsum immodicum, & sublata Tonitrua Vocis.
Omnia vasta videt : stat Graminis horrida Sylva,
Stat Nemorosa Seges, centumq$_3$ aſsurgit in Ulnas.
Miratur Stirpe ingenti sublime Papaver ;
Miratur Violarum Umbras, Molemq$_3$ Hyacinthi ;
Candidaq$_3$ inclusus sæpè inter Lilia dormit.
Sæpè etiàm somnos turbavit murmure Crabro
Increpuitq$_3$ minax Cauda Pennisq$_3$ coruscans,
Monstrum, Horrendum, Ingens[5] ! tamèn his se oblectat ocellus,
Mirandæ Novitatis amans, fruiturq$_3$ Periclis.

[2] Lucretius, ii. 759.
[3] Gulliver's *Voyage to Lilliput.*
[4] The *Voyage to Brobdingnag.*
[5] *Aen.* iii. 658.

Quin Majora istis spes ambitiosa videndi
Moliri docuit, rapuitq$_3$ in Sydera Cæli.
Namq$_3$ ubi Nox tenebris terrarum amplectitur Orbē,
Cæli observator convertit ad Æthera vitrum
Intendens Oculos, propiùsq$_3$ aspectat Olympum
Artifici visu, ac solerti fraude Tuborum.

At Corydon rudis Urbanæ miracula Turris[6]
Visit, & Ingentum formas sævire Leonum
Attonitus stupet, externis terroribus aures
Implet, & exturbat Thamesin sonus horridus Indi.
Ah! quoties timido aspectat Muliercula vultu
Musæum, Rhedycina[7], tuum, exanimesq$_3$ Dracones,
Erexiſse alas, ac sibila sæva sonare
Pallens credidit, & tremefacta repentè refugit.
Ista tamèn mulcent blandâ formidine Pectus
Visa, ac Lætitiæ par est Mensura timori.

Nec minor e visu modò nostræ accrevit Etonæ
Exhausitq$_3$ domos Pueris insueta voluptas:
Undiq$_3$ corripuere Gradum; Via tota popello
Infremuit, servæq$_3$ suas liquere Culinas
Immundæ, & latè pingues odor imbuit Auras.
Venere Artifices; tardi venere Coloni[8];
Ipse unctâ Tonsor venit de Cote protervus,
Bibliopola etiàm venit: Portenta videndi
Tantus Amor, Tanta est Oculorum insana Libido!
Indos[9] conspectare juvat, juvat Ora tueri

[6] The Tower of London, where formerly a menagerie of lions used to be kept.

[7] Oxford (see Letter 25, n. 4); the Museum is the Ashmolean (see Letter 67, n. 4).

[8] Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 19.

[9] In June 1734 a party of Cherokee Indians, consisting of Tomo Chachi, the king, Senauki, his wife, Tooanakowki, their son, Hillispilli, the war-captain, and others, arrived in England from Georgia, having been brought over by Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony. 'Their faces were painted in a surprizing Manner, some half black, others triangular, and others with bearded Arrows instead of Whiskers. *Tomo Chachi*, the

Mixta Notis belli, sævumq$_3$ gerentia Martem;
Vestitumq$_3$, Auresq$_3$ decoro vulnere sciſsas.
Ante omnes Princeps, Animo maturus et Ævo [10],
Majestate rudi, torvoq$_3$ inceſsit honore:
Cristatum Decus, et Pennarum candidus ordo
Ornavere Caput, rubuit spectabilis auro [11]
Vestis, & Ipse suos stupuit Rex Barbarus Indos,
Ardentemq$_3$ Auro sese, ardentemq$_3$ Senauken [12],
Insignemq$_3$ novo cultu, spem gentis Iŭlum [13].
At Pueri magnâ acclamantes voce, sub auras
Jactavere sonos lætos; sonuere Minervæ
Inferior sedes [14], atq$_3$ Altæ tecta Palestræ [15].
Vix excepturos tanto clamore Britannos
Cæsaris [16] Aspectum, Teq$_3$ O pia Cæsaris Uxor [17],
Crediderim, qŭippè Ora nigri deformia Regis
Commendat Novitas jucunda, ac rarior Usus.

R. West [18]

[1734]

Chief, and *Senauki*, his Wife, had on Scarlet Garments adorn'd with Fur and Gold Lace . . . all of them had their Heads dress'd with Feathers' (*Lond. Mag.* 1734, p. 447). They were presented to the King at Kensington on Aug. 1, and subsequently they paid a visit to Eton. 'Sept. 16, Monday. The *Indians* from *Georgia*, went to *Eaton College*, and were received by D^r *George* *, D^r *Berriman* †, & the rest of the Fellows present; they went into the School-Room among the Scholars, where *Tomo Chachi* begg'd them an Holiday, desiring it might be when the D^r thought most proper, which caused a general Huzza in the School; they were shown the several Apartments in this College, and afterwards went to *Windsor*' (*Lond. Mag.* 1734, p. 494).

[10] The Chief, Tomo Chachi, was an old man.

[11] Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 166.

[12] Senauki, the wife of the Chief.

[13] Tooanakowki, their son.

[14] The Lower School.

[15] The Upper School.

[16] George II.

[17] Queen Caroline.

[18] West's name has been appended by Walpole.

* William George, D.D. (d. 1756), Head Master.
† William Berriman, D.D. (1688–1750), Senior Fellow.

III.

[Translation of an Epigram of Martial (iii. 61)]

Eſse nihil dicis quicquid petis, Improbe Cinna,
Si nil, Cinna petis, nil tibi, Cinna, nego.

Whenever Cinna asks a Favour,
Oh! Tis but Nothing, Sr, he 'll say;
Cinna, you are too Modest rather;
Is 't really Nothing? take it, Pray.

R. West.

[July, 1736]

IV.

Carolina[1]. Ecloga.

Hæc etiam, Carolina, Tuæ sint addita laudi
Carmina, quæ solâ nymphæ fudêre sub umbrâ
Isiades, largoq; implerunt omnia fletu,
Crudelem suavi fallentes carmine curam.
O! Quis Te potuit, Dea, Te, dulciſsima, nobis
Eripere, & caros æternùm avertere vultus?
Improba Mors! nec Te populi tetigêre querelæ,
Regia nec dolitura domus, lachrymæq; decoræ
Ameliæ[2], nec Te miseri suspiria Regis?
Ah! nostra an tantos meruerunt crimina luctus?

Appendix B 3.—This epigram appears to have been originally sent by West to Ashton in a letter of July, 1736 (see Letter 38). It is here printed from a copy, jotted down, first in pencil, and then in ink, by Horace Walpole on the inside of the cover of a letter addressed by West to 'Mr Thomas Gray at Peter-house College in Cambridge', bearing the postmark, 10 May, which is preserved among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection.

Appendix B 4.—Now first printed in full from original in West's handwriting among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection.

[1] Queen Caroline died on 20 Nov. 1737, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 17 Dec. West wrote also in English a *Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline* (see Letter 168, n. 34).

[2] Princess Amelia Sophia Eleanora, second daughter of George II and Queen Caroline; born 10 June 1710; died unmarried 31 Oct. 1786. She was chief mourner at the Queen's funeral (see Letter 71, n. 8).

Dicite Vos, Nymphæ, Thamisinæ, dicite, Nymphæ,
Vidistisne illo quicquā[3] crudelius unquam
Tempore, quo moribunda toro Regina jaceret.
Heu! lachrymis gemitúq, sonabant omnia circum:
Illa, nihil metuens, tantùm spectabat ad ora
Conjugis, aspectúq, animam ponebat in ipso.
Ah! non Ille graves longo pòst tempore curas,
Aut desiderium memori de pectore mittet:
At totos raptâ secum de conjuge soles
Sæpe gemet, sæpe in somnis astare videbit
Absentem: nec cara unquam labetur Imago.
Nec jam Pierii Colles, nec amata placebit
Richmondæ domus: aſsueto sediſse sub antro[4]
Tædet enim, & sævi renovantur ubique dolores:
Illius, ad notas umbras, ad flumina nota,
Hîc inter platanos, istâq, sub ilice multùm,
Illius ah! meminit, vultúsq, requirit amatæ
Reginæ, & tacito rorantur lumina fletu.
Quæ vos, o Fauni? o Dryades, viridesq, Napææ[5],
Quæ mora vos tenuit? nunc jam non tempus, ut ante,
Montibus exultare, chorósq, agitare per herbam:
Desertisq,; choris & montibus, ilicet omnes
Ite, & ducite heu! misero solatia Regi,
Si tantos aliquid poterit lenire dolores.
Ah! saltem capiti certatim nectite serta
Floribus e variis: Quid tum si munera parva?
Et parvis inerit sua gratia: carpite calthas[6],
Liliaq, violasq, & Narciſsos lachrymosos,
Carpite: serta ferant Nymphæ; vos carmina, Fauni.
Carminibus veteres fecerunt mira poetæ;
Carminibus capti mediis Delphines in undis;
Ipse equus in pratis quondam ferus, immemor herbæ,

[3] West wrote first: 'Ecquid vidistis Illo'.

[4] 'Merlin's Cave', a favourite retreat of Queen Caroline in the royal gardens at Richmond (see Letter 47, n. 11).

[5] Dell-nymphs (cf. *Georg.* iv. 535).

[6] Marigolds (cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* ii. 50).

Substitit, auditâq$_3$ lyrâ mitescere discit;
Carmina pacarunt homines, & carmina Divos.
Atq$_3$ utinam nunc O! Si posſit fistula vestra
Dulce sonare aliquid, Regem relevare jacentem
Posſitis, miserisq$_3$ oblivia ducere curis!
Scilicet, o Fauni, vos & Pan ipse canetis
Reginæ laudes, Reginæ ingentia facta:
Ut primâ jam ætate, ardens pietatis amore,
Spreverit Imperium[7]; ut quondam, dum fata sinebant[8],
Conjugis absentis solio succeſserit alto[9],
Viribus haud impar; ut Pallada semper amârit
Palladiásq$_3$ artes[10]. Tu vitam, Maxima, spargis
Per populum; Te Sensit inops orbusq$_3$ Parentem,
Te Juvenes Nymphæq$_3$; dedit Tibi Cælicolûm Rex
Divinos animos, & non muliebria corda:
Salve, ingens Regina, Deis decus addita, Nostri
Sis memor, O! Regémq$_3$ diù da vivere nobis.
Hæc simul audieram solâ cantare sub umbrâ
Nymphas, ausus Ego, ingenti perculsus amore,
Ducere Minciadas[11] Rhedicyna[12] per oppida Musas.

R. West[13].

[1737]

7 This appears to be a reference to Caroline's refusal as Princess in 1704 to marry the Archduke Charles (afterwards Emperor Charles VI), which would have necessitated her conversion to the Church of Rome. Her 'pious firmness' on this occasion is eulogized by Burnet (West's maternal grandfather) in his *History of his Own Time*.

8 Cf. *Aen.* iv. 651.

9 Queen Caroline acted as Regent during George II's absence in Hanover in 1729, 1732, 1735, and 1736–37.

10 She was a patroness of men of letters and of science, and was a benefactress of Queen's College, Oxford (see Letter 32, n. 2).

11 The Mincio falls into the Po a little below Mantua, the birthplace of Virgil.

12 Oxford (see Letter 25, n. 4).

13 West's name has been appended by Walpole, who presumably had authoritative information as to West's authorship of the poem. It is remarkable, however, that a poem, with the same title, of fifty-eight lines, fifty-two of which (including the first) are identical with lines in the above poem, was published in the *Pietas Academiæ Oxoniensis in obitum Augustissimæ et Desideratissimæ Reginæ Carolinæ* (1738) with the signature '*Geor. Carol. Black* Coll. Vig. Super. Ord. Commens.'

V.

[Translation from Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 458–542]

Hail happy swains! if yet you have not lost
All taste of your own bliſs: for you, remote
From Discord, the just Earth her bounty pours,
And with indulgence overpays your toil.
What tho' no palace in the hamlet rise
Proud of it's morning levy & false crowd;
No rich inlay the vain apartment load,
No tapstry sick with gold, no giddy dye
Of Tyre, no sculpture of Italic hand;
Nor Art, nor Caprice change the native taste
Yet Plenty there, & Peace, & Rural Joy
Are ever found; yet calm Content is there,
And Ease, and living grotts, and living rills,
The cool of Tempe, and Aurora's breath,
And golden slumber underneath the Shade:
Yet Nature's laws are there, and Nature's race,
Tho' savage, true to virtue. Blest Abodes!
Astræa parting left her image there.
Thee first, Celestial Muse, Thee I adore,
Whose sacred fires, thy early bard, I bear:
O teach me the wide paths of Heaven, and all
The sphear of starry worlds; whence thus the Sun
Suffers Eclipse, & whence the lab'ring Moon;
What shakes Earth's solid base; why the High Sea
Now overleaps all bound, now calm subsides;
Why Winter's Suns so swift descend, and why
Her night scarce drives the lazy hours along;
But should, ah! should my cold, dull breast refuse
To mount me such a lofty height; O bear me—

Appendix B 5.—Now first printed from original in West's handwriting among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection.

[1] This is no doubt the translation which was enclosed in West's letter to Walpole of 23 Jan. 1740 (see Letter 110, n. 8).

Bear me to vales & streams; and near the stream,
And in the vale, inglorious, let me live:
O where Sperchéos flows! where Sparta's nymphs
Sport on the green bank of Eurota's flood!
Oh! who will waft me to cool Hæmo's vale,
And wrap me in the thick imbowering Shade!
Thrice Blest! who with inlighten'd soul has read
Great Nature's law: who underneath his feet
Has hurl'd all fear and superstition vain
Of Fate, and Furies, and the dinn of Styx!
Yet not unblest the simpler Rural Swain,
That with the Fauns & with the Dryads dwells!
In happy ignorance with them he dwells,
Heedleſs of prince or people; unappall'd
At all the Rumor & Distreſs of War,
When naval armaments & Treaties broke
Disturb the peacefull Ocean. In his Woods
What is there for his Envy, or his Pride?
Nature on all her equal sons bestows
Her equal gifts: no partial Justice there,
No brawls of property, no crazy Hall,
To fright the Sylvans from their calm abode.
Others, or on the deep, or in the feild,
Turn rash for gain or glory: some in courts
Flatter the Great: This man to Empire soars:
See! half a nation murder'd, that the Knave
May feast in pearl & purple: That man creeps
For lucre, and imbrutes o'er dirty Gold:
A third's an orator, he plays the tongue
With florid vanity, to win th' applause,
The vast applause of Senates & of Mobs:
Ambition sways thro' all: Discords succeed;
Brothers are slain without remorse; they run
To exile; they forget their Native land;
They live remote in foreign climes opprest.
The Swain! he tills his ground. Is it enough
For him, his household, and deserving beasts?

He asks no more: There all his labors end:
Nor truce, nor respite; but each season teems
With cattle, or with fruitage, or with grain,
And beats his industry, and bursts his barns:
Till Winter comes apace. Then other Work:
Then the fat Olive to the grinding mill;
And the red vintage basks beneath the Sun.
See! the rich Autumn round. See! all his woods
Surfeit with fruit: and all his cattle feast!
Thus ends, and thus returns the circling year.
Meantime his children round him crowd, and each
Expreſs their little loves: their Mother smiles;
And all is Innocence, and all is Joy:
Joy fills the flock: with Joy the heifers dance,
And dance the kids upon the meadow blythe:
He too indulges Joy: now with his hinds,
Promiscuous on the graſs, crowns the full bowl,
And bids gay Bacchus to the feast, and Pan:
Now for the wintry sports & rural wake;
They run, they dart, they wrestle; while the Nymphs
Laugh at the rude Olympic of the Wood.
T'was thus, our ancient Sabine fathers lived,
Thus the bold Twins of Mars, & Tuscans thus;
Thus Rome the wonder of the World became,
And on her sevenfold base immortal rose:
E're Jove the tyrant had usurp't the sway,
E're man had learn't to kill his fellow beasts,
T'was thus old Saturn & the Golden Race
Turn'd Earth to Paradise; Nor War was then,
Nor Discord, nor was spear, nor helmet known.
—But hold: t'is time to curb the headlong course:
Here end the toil: Here rest the Muse awhile.

98 lines.

R. West.[2]

[2] West's name has been appended by Walpole.

VI[a]

MADRIGAL. IMITATED FROM PASSERAT [1].

See! Phyllis, Beauty will not stay:
Haste we, and gather, while we may
The momentary flower:
Ah! haste, nor let a moment fly:
Look up: allready in the sky
I see an April Shower.

VI[b]

MADRIGAL. IMITATED FROM LINGENDES [2].

If t'is a crime to love
Is the fault mine?
Her charms, who caus'd my flame,
Can only merit blame:
The fault's in Heav'n above,
Who made her so divine,
And not in Me:
My Eyes were given to see.

APPENDIX B 6[a]–6[d].—Now first printed from originals in West's handwriting among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection.

[1] Jean Passerat (1534–1602); the following is the original as printed in *Recueil des plus belles pieces des Poëtes François, tant Anciens que Modernes, . . . par l'Auteur des Memoires et Voyage d'Espagne* (5 vols., Paris, 1692):

Belle, ta beauté s'enfuit:
Cueillons ensemble le fruit
De la jeunesse gaillarde.
Pendant qu'en avons le temps,
Rendons nos désirs contens:
Beauté n'est un fruit de garde.
(vol. ii, p. 125.)

[2] Jean de Lingendes (*c.* 1580–1616):

Si c'est un crime de l'aimer,
On n'en doit justement blâmer
Que les beautés qui sont en elle;
La faute en est aux dieux
Qui la firent si belle,
Et non pas à mes yeux.
(*Recueil*, vol. iii, p. 40.)

VI^c

MADRIGAL. IMITATED FROM GILBERT[3].

I would that heaven on me wou'd pour
All the bleſsings in her store,
Honor, and wealth,
Perpetual youth, & rosy health,
And Wit, and Beauty, more
Than Nireus had before!
D'ye think a vain ambition prompts my breast
To make this mad request?
Ah! no—
T'is that accomplisht so,
My heavenly Phyllis, I may be
Worthy of Thee!

VI^d

MADRIGAL. IMITATED FROM S^t. GELAIS[4].

Phyllis! since I saw your face,
Others I have seen, and own
None have that charming grace
Which is in You alone.

R. WEST[5].

[3] Gabriel Gilbert (d. 1680):
Je voudrois posséder une grande richesse,
Les trésors de l'esprit et ceux de la santé,
Faire voir sur mon teint la fleur de la jeunesse,
Avec celle de la beauté;
Joindre à l'éclat d'une couronne
Tout ce que la fortune donne
A ses plus beaux favoris,
Non pour être un héros insigne
Mais seulement pour être digne.
De partager le cœur de la charmante Iris.
(*Recueil*, vol. iv, p. 147.)

[4] Mellin de Saint-Gelais (1491–1558):
Depuis que j'eus l'heur de vous voir,
J'ai vu du monde quelque espace;
Mais point n'ai vu meilleure grace,
Ni que j'aimasse mieux avoir.
(*Recueil*, vol. i, p. 165.)

[5] West's name has been appended by Walpole.

VII

FRAGMENT (CONCLUSION) OF THE FIRST ACT OF WEST'S TRAGEDY OF *Pausanias.*

You do not fail me—

ARGILIUS.

Ah! how can you imagin—

CLEODORA.

Nay but no more: Pausanias may be coming:
I fain would learn of you before you go,
Whither your journey lies: I only wish
It may not be Asia[1]. Adieu! Argilius.

ARGILIUS.

Then till we meet once more—Adieu!
My Cleodora.

ARGILIUS alone.

I only wish it may not be to Asia!—
What means she by those words? she even repeated them
With anxious earnestneſs. Is it her fears?
And can she be alarm'd about my safety?
And is my voyage of such moment to her?
O Heavens! and does she love me? — ah! no, I dream.
Wretched Argilius! thou art lost: she deems thee
A traitour to thy Country, and I know
Her generous spirit so abhorrs a falsehood,
Tho' t'were to serve her, that she n'ere could love thee.

APPENDIX B 7. — Now first printed from original in West's handwriting, prefixed to his letter to Walpole of 29 March 1741 (see Letter 133), among the Walpole MSS. in the Waller Collection.

[1] *Sic.*

Am I a traitour then? o Spartans! Spartans!
If ever treason lodg'd within this bosom,
Let vultures gnaw my heart, & may my name
Be branded with immortal curses!
Pausanias! Pausanias!
Now sure I give you the severest proof
Of my fidelity—tho' general Greece
Suspect you false, tho' you yourself mistrust me,
Tho' I lose Cleodora by it, Yet
I'm your friend.
Pausanias false? it cannot, cannot be.
Gods! have the Greeks so soon forgot Platæa?
Have they forgot him, when
Terrible as Mars, upon the Edge of Battle
He stood, & waving thro' the frighted air
His dreadfull fauchion, cried, now, Spartans, now
Revenge Leonidas! Liberty or Death!
Then, rushing, like a whirlwind, o'er the plain,
He led his fierce bataillons; down before him
Whole nations fell, & Asia trembling fled.
—Go! now impeach him, go, ungratefull Spartans,
Go, emulate th' Athenians: Thus they serv'd
The brave Miltiades. But t'is the fate of Patriots,
Never rewarded, seldom understood.
Pausanias false! heavens! I can't bear th' Idea.
Yet, had I cause but to suspect him such;
For without cause Suspicion is unjust,
Nay t'is ungenerous, t'is base in friendship;
Yet, had I cause—by heavens! this hand, this hand
Should be the first to plunge the dagger in,
And sacrifice my friend, to save my Country.
Hah! here he comes—

ARGILIUS. PAUSANIAS.

ARGILIUS.

My Lord Pausanias, Welcome.

PAUSANIAS.

Argilius! I am sick of the Ephori:
They worry me to death. Pray be sincere:
D'you take me for a villain?

ARGILIUS.

What, my Lord!
Can any Spartan take you for a villain?

PAUSANIAS.

Why yes; our Ephori. Now will I tell
Nothing but truth, and yet I'll make this boy
Beleive me honest—They have brought against me
Impeachment on Impeachment, run o'er my life,
Tax't all my actions—

ARGILIUS.

And Platæa's too,
I hope.

PAUSANIUS.

No, Diotimus was so good
To mention it with praises: then they question'd me
For sending Embaſsies to Artabazus;
The story of Byzantium too; in brief
They dealt with me, as tho' I were a traitour.

ARGILIUS.

t'was thus
Th' Athenians dealt with brave Miltiades.

PAUSANIAS.

Yes, but I will not rot in chains, as he did.
What shall I tamely fall a Sacrifice
To crooked jealousies & false surmizes?
Not so, Argilius. T'is a bad World, we live in;

And virtue, to defend herself, must stoop
To means, which virtue of herself would scorn :
Bare Innocence is nowadays no Safeguard.
I therefore found it vain to plead my cause
In words, but treated them, as they deserv'd :
So I e'en threw my Persian gold among them,
And set the rogues a scrambling, till they loos't
Their hold upon me.

ARGILIUS.

O Lycurgus ! couldst thou
But now return on Earth, & view thy city !

PAUSANIAS.

Young Man ! thou talk'st a Spartan. But thank Heaven !
We are not so far gone : Poverty still
And Virtue are acquainted with each other :
Sparta as yet has many Sons to boast of :
Our children may improve upon us—O Argilius !
Think how it stabb'd me to descend so low,
As to be forc'd to purchase my acquittance,
Meanly to purchase it, by such unmanly,
Such ignominious means, as, while they saved me,
Yet left the blemish on my injured Honour.
But I was forc't to't : I must else have perish't
The sacrifice of popular brutality.
But Bribery !—
O t'is a vile dishonourable Screen !
T'is a blind Judge, that settles no distinction
T'wixt Guilt & Innocence. Why, had I been the traitour,
Which they would make me, I had thus escaped
With as much credit to the full, as now !
Soh ! I have told my story : let the fool
Work on it, as he may.

ARGILIUS.

But Diotimus,
He never could—

PAUSANIAS.

No: for I knew the Man,
Him & some others of a noble stamp
I knew too well, to think such sordid trash
Could ever tempt them. But t'is hard, in truth
T'is hard, when even honest Men suspect us:
The rest I heed not; but I would n't, methinks,
Have Diotimus, and such men my foes.
I know but one thing, that can bear me out:
And that's my Conscience. prithée, Argilius,
Do I look like a traitour?

ARGILIUS.

Nay, my Lord,
No more of that— but what! did Diotimus
Drop the impeachment then?

PAUSANIAS.

I'll tell you.
Soon as he saw, which way the torrent ran,
He let it go no farther: he only laid
A fine upon me: at the Close of all
He made a Speech, in which he much inlarg'd
Upon Platæa, & said t'was worthier Spartans
To scare the coward Persian with their Sword,
Than treat with them in vile Embaſsadry.
I answer'd nothing,
But treated his suspicions with contempt:
And yet, I own, my very heart within me
Bled to be so suspected by that man!
—But enough of this.
The day declines allready on our hands:

Now to the scope and purpose of our meeting;
You must forthwith to Asia; instant buſineſs
Demands you hence. Argilius, I am loth
To part with you: but who have I beside
I can relie on? O! I am beleaguer'd
With dark informers & malicious Spies:
You are my only friend—Now Diotimus
Would call this vile Embaſsadry.

ARGILIUS.

My Lord!
No further, I conjure you—

PAUSANIAS.

Well! I will not.
Here are the letters: this for Artabazus:
For Intaphernes & Pharnaspes these.
I'd tell you their full import, but I'm bound
In honour to conceal them: in good time
You shall know all; at present be aſsured,
The general weal of Greece is lodg'd in them,
And therefore with the rest, your own in common.
But you must hence without delay for Argos;
A Veſsel there lies ready to convey you
To Ephesus. Argilius! need I add?
You must be cautious. Sparta is all Eyes,
And should they once suspect—

ARGILIUS.

Fear not, my Lord,
You did me justice, when you said just now,
You might relie on me: and for the rest,
Heaven still protects the virtuous enterprize.

PAUSANIAS.

I fear nor heaven, nor you—with caution added.
Argilius, adieu! I must now meet

The Helot Clytus: he is brave & honest,
Tho' born a Slave. You see, what I'm reduced to:
I'm so beset with foes, I'm even forc'd
To fly to slaves for succour. This it is
To serve a thankleſs Country! Be it so!
Since t'is the will of Heaven, I'm satisfied.
But fy! we lose the time in talk. Argilius!
With this embrace once more adieu! my friend.

ARGILIUS.

Adieu! my lord! & may your virtue soon
Shine forth without a cloud to hide it's lustre!

PAUSANIAS (alone).

Adieu Young Spartan! & I think, for ever!
Those letters bear the mandate of thy fate:
Alaſs! thou'lt never live to bring their answer.
In truth thou dost deserve a nobler doom,
And, were it safe to spare thee, I would spare thee:
But t'must not be—and yet—no more—
—So farewell for ever!—
—Why? What an easy thing it is to impose
On the dull brain of tame Credulity?
The World's made up of fools; and he's a fool,
That does not use them so. Now honest ones
Are of all fools the fittest for our purpose:
Poor Usefull instruments—
They're made to be imploy'd, & then dispatch't:
So we but manage them, & never trust them,
They add a credit to our Undertakings:
For none suspects, where Honesty's concern'd.
Hah! Honesty! what is it?
That boasted basis of our reputation,
That band of Justice between Man & Man,
That Law of life, & Cement of Society,
What is it? Words. T'is all Self Love at bottom.

Or fear of punishment, or dread of Shame,
Or force of Custom, or mere Constitution
Make all men, what they are—For Me,
I was not framed for this vile Spartan coop,
This wretched policy of sage Lycurgus!
No, my ambition asks a larger field—
As for the herd, why let 'em creep—
It is their Calling, and they *must* obey:
My soul was nobler born & destin'd unto Sway.

[1741]

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS BY RICHARD WEST

c. 1733–4

Latin poem on the theme, 'Foliisque notas et nomina mandat'[1]:—

'Mirandas scripturæ artes, expreſsaque vocis'.

1734

Latin poem on the theme, 'Visendi studio Trojana juventus Circumfusa ruit'[2]:—

'Lampade Phœbeâ, radiorum fonte perenni'.

1736

Latin poem, *Merlinus: Ecloga*, contributed to the Oxford *Gratulatio* on the marriage of Frederick, Prince of Wales (27 April)[3]:—

'Forte una agresti Corydon et Thyrsis in antro'.

Translation from Horace, *Odes*, iii. 13 (1 June)[4]:—

'Blandusian Nymph, to grace thy spring'.

Translation from Martial, iii. 61 (July)[5]:—

'Whenever Cinna asks a favor'.

Imitation of Horace: *To Mary Magdalene* (Aug.)[6]:—

'Saint of this learned awful grove'.

[1] See Appendix B. 1.
[2] See Appendix B. 2.
[3] See Letter 31, n. 6.
[4] See Letter 32.
[5] See Letter 38.
[6] See Letter 42.

Verses on the *Chelsea Grotto* (31 Oct.)[7]:—
'Authors of doubtleſs faith relate'.

Poem *To Chloe*[8]:—
'Thanks, Chloe, thy coquetting art'.

1737

Poem *Ad Amicos* (4 July)[9]:—
'Yes, happy youths, on Camus' sedgy side'.

Translation from Horace, *Odes* i. 5 (12 July)[10]:—
'Say what dear Youth his amorous rapture breathes'.

Lines 'à la Française' (12 July)[11]:—
'Critics indeed prescribe it as a rule'.

Lines to Walpole (12 July)[12]:—
'To thee, my thoughts magnetically roll'.

Latin translation of epigram of Posidippus (2 Dec.)[13]:—
'Perspicui puerum ludentem in margine rivi'.

Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline (Dec.)[14]:—
'Sing we no more of Hymeneal lays'.

Latin poem, *Carolina: Ecloga* (Dec.)[15]:—
'Hæc etiam, Carolina, tuæ sint addita laudi'.

1738

Poem on *The View from the Thatcht House at Richmond* (7 Sept.)[16]:—
'Stranger! whosoere you be'.

[7] See Letter 47.
[8] Date conjectural; the poem is reprinted by Tovey in *Gray and his Friends*, p. 109, from Dalrymple's *Collection of English Songs*.
[9] See Letter 58.
[10] See Letter 60.
[11] See Letter 60.
[12] See Letter 60.
[13] See Letter 69.
[14] See Letter 168, n. 34.
[15] See Appendix B. 4.
[16] See Letter 82.

Latin elegiacs addressed to Gray (17 Sept.)[17]:—
'Quod mihi tam gratæ misisti dona Camenæ'.
Imitation of Horace (1 *Epist.* ii) addressed to Gray[18]:—
'While haply You (or haply not at all)'.

1739

Imitation of Propertius, iii. 15 (21 June)[19]:—
'Now prostrate Bacchus at thy shrine I bend'.
Sapphics addressed to Gray (28 Sept.)[20]:—
'O meæ jucunda comes quietis!'

1740

Latin poem on the hard winter (Jan.)[21]:—
'Ipse Pater Thamisinus aquas jam frigore vinci'.
Translation from Virgil, *Georgics* ii. 458–542 (Jan.)[22]:—
'Hail happy swains! if yet you have not lost'.
Latin elegiacs addressed to Gray at Florence (April)[23]:—
'Ergo desidiæ videor tibi crimine dignus'.

1741.

Fragment of the tragedy of *Pausanias* (March)[24]:—
'You do not fail me'.
Translation of Epigram on Frederick the Great (March)[25]:—
'How can you doubt if the New King'.

[17] See Letter 85.
[18] See Letter 162, n. 14.
[19] See Letter 94.
[20] See Letter 102.
[21] See Letter 110, n. 1.
[22] See Letter 110, n. 8.
[23] See Letter 115.
[24] See Appendix B. 7.
[25] See Letter 133.

Imitation of madrigal from Passerat[26]:—

'See! Phyllis, beauty will not stay'.

Imitation of madrigal from Lingendes:—

'If 'tis a crime to love'.

Imitation of madrigal from Gilbert:—

'I would that heaven on me would pour'.

Imitation of madrigal from St. Gelais:—

'Phyllis! since I saw your face'.

1742

Latin poem on his cough (4 April)[27]:—

'Ante omnes morbos importuniſsima tuſsis'.

Ode to Gray (5 May)[28]:—

'Dear Gray, that always in my heart'.

Imitations of Catullus' *Basia* (11 May)[29]:—

'Lesbia, let us (while we may)'.

'You ask how often you must kiss'.

[26] For this and the three following imitations, see Appendix B. 6; the date assigned to these pieces is conjectural.

[27] See Letter 142.

[28] See Letter 148.

[29] See Letter 162, n. 21.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(1716–1797)

1716.

Ashton born.
West born.
Gray born (26 Dec.).

1717.

Walpole born (24 Sept.).

c. 1726.

Ashton, West, and Gray go to Eton.

1727.

Walpole goes to Eton (26 April).

1730.

Death of Gray's uncle, Robert Antrobus (20 Jan.).

1731.

Walpole entered at Lincoln's Inn (27 May).

1732.

Charles Lyttelton goes to University College, Oxford (Oct.).

1733.

Ashton elected to King's College, Cambridge.
West admitted at Inner Temple (17 July).
Death of Dr. Richardson, Master of Peterhouse (31 July); John Whalley elected to succeed him (Sept.).
Dr. Roger Long elected Master of Pembroke (12 Oct.).

1734.

Gray entered as pensioner at Peterhouse (4 July).
Ashton admitted scholar of King's (11 Aug.).
Walpole leaves Eton (23 Sept.).
Gray begins residence at Peterhouse (9 Oct.).
Gray elected Cosin scholar (17 Oct.).

1735.

Walpole goes to King's (11 March).
West goes to Christ Church, Oxford (22 May).
Gray elected Hale scholar (27 June).
Sir Robert Walpole leaves St. James's Square for Downing Street (22 Sept.).

1736.

Marriage of Frederick, Prince of Wales (27 April).
Gray, Ashton, and Walpole contribute to the Cambridge *Gratulatio* [1].
West contributes to the Oxford *Gratulatio* [2].
Gray's translation from Statius, *Theb.* vi. 646 ff. (8 May) [3].
West's translation from Horace, *Odes* iii. 13 (1 June) [4].
West's translation from Martial, iii. 61 (July) [5].
West's imitation of Horace ('To Mary Magdalene') (Aug.) [6].
West's verses on the *Chelsea Grotto* (31 Oct.) [7].

1737.

Walpole's poem to West ('Seeds of Poetry and Rhime') (3 Jan.) [8].
Glover's *Leonidas* published.
Gray's *Luna est habitabilis* and Walpole's *Planetæ sunt habitabiles* [9].
West's poem *Ad Amicos* (4 July) [10].
West's translation from Horace, *Odes* i. 5, and lines 'à la Française', and to Walpole (12 July) [11].
Death of Lady Walpole (20 Aug.).
Ashton leaves King's and is appointed tutor to Lord Plymouth.
Death of Queen Caroline (20 Nov.).
Walpole appointed Inspector of Imports and Exports at Custom House.
West's translation of epigram of Posidippus (2 Dec.) [12].

[1] See Letter 31, nn. 4, 5.
[2] See Letter 31, n. 6.
[3] See Letter 30.
[4] See Letter 32.
[5] See Letter 38.
[6] See Letter 42.
[7] See Letter 47.
[8] See Letter 51.
[9] See Letter 57.
[10] See Letter 58.
[11] See Letter 60.
[12] See Letter 69.

Funeral of Queen Caroline (17 Dec.).
West's *Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline* [13], and his *Carolina: Ecloga* [14].

1738.

Walpole appointed Usher of the Exchequer (29 Jan.).
Ashton, B.A.; elected Fellow of King's.
West leaves Oxford (April).
Gray's Sapphic ode to West ('Barbaras ædes') (June) [15].
West's poem on *The View from the Thatcht House at Richmond* (7 Sept.) [16].
Gray leaves Cambridge (Sept.).
West's elegiacs to Gray ('Quod mihi tam gratæ') (17 Sept.) [17].
West's imitation of Horace (1 *Epist.* ii) addressed to Gray [18].

1739.

Walpole leaves Cambridge.
Walpole and Gray leave England on foreign tour (10 March).
at Paris (till end of May).
at Rheims (June–Aug.).
West's imitation of Propertius ('Now prostrate Bacchus') (21 June) [19].
West's Sapphics to Gray ('O meæ jucunda') (28 Sept.) [20].
Walpole and Gray at Lyons (Sept.–Oct.).
at Turin and Genoa (Nov.).
Gray's Sapphics to West from Genoa ('Horridos tractus') (21 Nov.) [21].
Walpole and Gray at Bologna (3–15 Dec.).
reach Florence (18 Dec.).

1740.

West's Latin poem on the hard winter ('Ipse Pater Thamisinus') (Jan.) [22].
West's translation from Virgil, *Georgics* ii. 458–542 (Jan.).
Walpole's *Epistle to Ashton from Florence.*
Gray's elegiacs to West on Trebia ('Qua Trebiæ glaucas') (15 Jan.) [23].
Death of Clement XII (6 Feb.).
Walpole and Gray leave Florence for Rome (21 March).
at Siena (22 March).
reach Rome (26 March).
West's elegiacs to Gray at Florence ('Ergo desidiæ') (April) [24].

[13] See Letter 168, n. 34.
[14] See Appendix B. 4.
[15] See Letter 79.
[16] See Letter 82.
[17] See Letter 85.
[18] See Letter 162, n. 14.
[19] See Letter 94.
[20] See Letter 102.
[21] See Letter 106.
[22] See Letter 110, n. 1.
[23] See Letter 109.
[24] See Letter 115.

Gray's Alcaic ode to West from Rome ('Mater rosarum') (May)[25].
Death of Frederick William I of Prussia (31 May).
Walpole and Gray at Naples (June).
Gray's poem to West on the Gaurus from Rome ('Nec procul infelix') (July)[26].
Walpole and Gray return to Florence from Rome (beginning of July).
Election of Benedict XIV (17 Aug.).
Gray's Latin translation of Buondelmonte's 'sonnet', and Walpole's English translation of the same (2 Oct.)[27].
Death of Emperor Charles VI (20 Oct.).
Death of Anne, Czarina of Russia (28 Oct.).
Ashton ordained.

1741.

Motion for removal of Sir Robert Walpole defeated (13 Feb.).
West's *Pausanias* (March)[28].
Gray's *De Principiis Cogitandi* (April)[29].
Walpole and Gray leave Florence (April).
Gray's farewell lines to Florence ('Oh Fæsulæ amœna') (21 April)[30].
West in Paris (8 May).
West's imitations of four French madrigals (May?)[31].
Walpole and Gray at Reggio, where they quarrel—Gray goes to Venice (May).
Walpole elected M.P. for Callington (14 May).
dangerously ill at Reggio.
Gray leaves Venice on his way home (middle of July).
at Turin (15 Aug.).
revisits Grande Chartreuse, and writes his Alcaic ode ('Oh tu, severi religio loci') (Aug.).
at Lyons (25 Aug).
reaches London (1 Sept.).
Walpole, after a month at Venice, returns, by way of Genoa, Antibes, and Paris, to London (14 Sept.).
Death of Gray's father (6 Nov.).

1742.

Sir Robert Walpole resigns, and is created Earl of Orford (9 Feb.).
Walpole makes his first speech in the House of Commons (23 March).
Gray's *Agrippina* (April)[32].

[25] See Letter 119.
[26] See Letter 127.
[27] See Letter 129.
[28] See Appendix B. 7.
[29] See Letters 134, 162.
[30] See Letter 134.
[31] See Appendix B. 6.
[32] See Letter 141.

West's poem on his cough ('Ante omnes morbos') (4 April) [33].
West's ode to Gray ('Dear Gray, that always in my heart') (5 May) [34].
West's imitations of Catullus' *Basia* (11 May) [35].
Gray's heroic epistle ('Sophonisba Massinissæ') (27 May) [36].
Death of West (1 June).
Gray's *Ode on the Spring* sent to West ('not knowing he was then dead') (June) [37].
Ashton's verses on the death of West (June) [38].
Gray's sonnet on the death of West (Aug.).
Gray's *Eton Ode* and *Hymn to Adversity* (Aug.).
Ashton, M.A.; appointed to Crown living of Aldingham, Lancs.
Gray returns to Peterhouse as Fellow Commoner (Oct.).
Death of Gray's uncle, Jonathan Rogers (31 Oct.).
Mrs. Gray removes from Cornhill to Stoke Poges.
Gray's *Elegy* begun.

1744.

Gray takes the degree of LL.B. at Cambridge.

1745.

Death of Earl of Orford (Sir Robert Walpole) (28 March).
The Young Pretender lands in Scotland (28 July).
Defeat of royal forces at Prestonpans (22 Sept.).
Reconciliation of Gray and Walpole (Nov.).
The Pretender takes Carlisle (15 Nov.), and advances to Derby (4 Dec.).
Ashton elected Fellow of Eton (20 Dec.).

1746.

General Hawley defeated at Falkirk by the Pretender (17 Jan.).
Defeat of the Pretender at Culloden by the Duke of Cumberland (16 April).
Walpole's poem, *The Beauties* (July).
Trial of the rebel Lords (28 July–1 Aug.).
Walpole takes house at Windsor (Aug.).
Execution of Lord Balmerino and Lord Kilmarnock (18 Aug.).
Walpole's *Epilogue to Tamerlane* printed by Dodsley (Nov.).
Execution of Charles Radcliffe (Lord Derwentwater) (8 Dec.).

[33] See Letter 142.
[34] See Letter 148.
[35] See Letter 162, n. 21.
[36] See Letter 151.
[37] See Letter 157.
[38] See Letter 153.

1747.

Walpole elected F.R.S.
Gray's *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat* (March) [39].
Execution of Lord Lovat (9 April).
Walpole takes Strawberry Hill (May).
Eckhardt's portraits of Walpole and Gray.
Walpole re-elected M.P. for Callington (3 July).
Gray's *Eton Ode* published by Dodsley (summer).
Gray's *Characters of the Christ-Cross Row* [40].

1748.

Gray's *Eton Ode*, *Ode on the Spring*, and *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat*, Walpole's *Epistle to Ashton from Florence*, *The Beauties*, and *Epilogue to Tamerlane*, and West's *Monody on Queen Caroline*, published in Dodsley's *Collection*.
Gray's house in Cornhill burned down (May).
Dr. Edmund Keene elected Master of Peterhouse (31 Dec.).

1749.

Ashton Rector of Sturminster Marshall, Dorsets. (May).
Death of Gray's aunt, Mary Antrobus (5 Nov.).
Walpole attacked by highwaymen in Hyde Park (7 Nov.).

1750.

Ashton publishes *A Dissertation on 2 Peter i. 19*, in which he attacks Conyers Middleton.
Rupture between Walpole and Ashton (July).
Death of Conyers Middleton (28 July).
Gray's *Long Story* (Aug.).

1751.

Gray's *Elegy* published by Dodsley (16 Feb.).
Death of Walpole's eldest brother, second Earl of Orford (20 March).
Walpole's fable, *The Funeral of the Lioness* [41].

[39] See Letter 160. [40] See Letter 164.
[41] See Letter 175.

1752.

Mason's *Elfrida* published.
Ashton Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate.
Dr. Edmund Keene, Master of Peterhouse, appointed Bishop of Chester (March).
Gray's *Stanzas to Mr. Richard Bentley.*

1753.

Death of Mrs. Gray (11 March).
Six Poems[42] *of Gray with designs by Bentley* published by Dodsley (March).

1754.

Death of Pelham, Prime Minister (6 March).
Duke of Newcastle, Prime Minister (April).
Walpole elected M.P. for Castle Rising (20 April).
Dr. Edmund Law elected Master of Peterhouse on the resignation of Dr. Keene.
Gray's *Progress of Poesy* completed, and the *Bard* begun (Dec.).

1756.

Gray leaves Peterhouse, and is admitted at Pembroke (6 March).
Walpole's uncle, Horatio Walpole, created Baron Walpole of Wolterton (4 June).

1757.

Death of Walpole's uncle, Lord Walpole of Wolterton (5 Feb.).
Walpole resigns his seat for Castle Rising, and is elected for King's Lynn (24 Feb.), in place of his cousin Horatio Walpole, who succeeded to his father's peerage.
Gray's *Bard* completed (June).
Walpole erects printing-press at Strawberry Hill (25 June).
Gray's *Progress of Poesy* and *Bard* printed at Strawberry Hill (2,000 copies), and published by Dodsley (8 Aug.).
Walpole prints Garrick's stanzas to Gray (17 Oct.)[43].
Gray refuses Poet Laureateship (Dec.).

[42] Namely, the *Ode on the Spring*, *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat*, *Eton Ode*, the *Long Story*, the *Hymn to Adversity*, and the *Elegy*.

[43] See Letter 207.

1758.

Walpole's *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* (printed at Strawberry Hill) (April); second edition (5 Dec.).

1759.

British Museum opened (15 Jan.).
Ashton, D.D.
Gray takes rooms in London, in Southampton Row, near the British Museum (July).
Wolfe repeats Gray's *Elegy* on the eve of the taking of Quebec (12 Sept.).
Mason's *Caractacus* published (Nov.).

1760.

Publication of *Poems of Ossian* (July).
Death of George II, and accession of George III (25 Oct.).
Marriage of Ashton (10 Dec.).

1761.

Walpole re-elected M.P. for King's Lynn (27 March).
Marriage of George III (8 Sept.).
Coronation (22 Sept.).

1762.

Ashton preaches before the House of Commons (30 Jan.).
Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (vols. i and ii) (printed at Strawberry Hill) published (15 Feb.).
Ashton appointed Preacher at Lincoln's Inn (May).

1763.

Walpole's *Portrait of Lord Granville* printed at Strawberry Hill (10 Jan.)[44].
Bentley's poem, *Patriotism*[45].

1764.

Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (vol. iii) and *Catalogue of Engravers in England* published (6 Feb.).
Contest between Lord Sandwich and Lord Hardwicke for High Stewardship of Cambridge University (March).
Gray's poem *The Candidate, or the Cambridge Courtship.*
The election results in an equality of votes (30 March).

[44] See Letter 221. [45] See Letter 226.

General Conway dismissed from his appointments (22 April).
Walpole publishes *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (July).
Walpole's *Counter-Address to the Public on the late Dismission of a General Officer* published (2 Aug.).
Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* published (24 Dec.).
Ashton resigns preachership at Lincoln's Inn.

1765.

Second edition of *Castle of Otranto* (11 April).
Election for High Stewardship at Cambridge decided in favour of Lord Hardwicke (April).
Walpole leaves England for Paris (9 Sept.).
Death of Duke of Cumberland (31 Oct.).
Walpole's *Letter from the King of Prussia to Rousseau.*

1766.

Walpole returns from Paris (22 April).
Anstey's *New Bath Guide* published (June).

1767.

Anstey's *Patriot* published.
Walpole leaves England for Paris (20 Aug.).
Walpole returns from Paris (12 Oct.).

1768.

Walpole's *Historic Doubts on Richard the Third* published (1 Feb.).
Walpole retires from Parliament (March).
Poems by Mr. Gray[46] published by Dodsley (July).
Gray appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge by Duke of Grafton (28 July).
Gray elected Fellow of Pembroke.
Swift's *Journal to Stella* published.
Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* published.
Walpole's *Mysterious Mother* printed at Strawberry Hill (August)[47].
Dr. Frederick Cornwallis appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (23 Aug.).
Poems by Mr. Gray[48] published by Foulis at Glasgow (Sept.).
Death of Gray's aunt, Mrs. Rogers (end of Sept.).
Duke of Grafton elected Chancellor of University of Cambridge (29 Nov.).

[46] This volume contained the *Ode on the Spring*, *Ode on the Death of a Favourite Cat*, *Eton Ode*, the *Hymn to Adversity*, the *Progress of Poesy*, the *Bard*, the *Fatal Sisters*, the *Descent of Odin*, the *Triumphs of Owen*, and the *Elegy* (see Letter 240).

[47] It was not published till May 1781.

[48] The contents of this volume were the same as those of Dodsley's volume.

1769.

Duke of Grafton installed as Chancellor at Cambridge; Gray's *Installation Ode* performed (1 July).
Walpole leaves England for Paris (16 Aug.).
Walpole returns from Paris (11 Oct.).

1770.

Walpole's *Reply* to Dr. Milles' *Observations* on his *Richard the Third* (28 Aug.).
Death of Dr. Roger Long, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge (16 Dec.); Dr. James Brown elected to succeed him (21 Dec.).
Ashton's volume of *Sermons on several Occasions* published.

1771.

Walpole's house in Arlington Street broken into and ransacked (17 March)[49].
The Lord Mayor (Brass Crosby) committed to the Tower for defying an order of the House of Commons (27 March).
Walpole leaves England for Paris (7 July).
Death of Gray at Cambridge (30 July).
Walpole returns from Paris (6 Sept.).

1775.

Death of Ashton (1 March).
Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray* published (April).
Walpole in Paris (19 Aug.–12 Oct.).

1780.

Death of Madame du Deffand (24 Sept.).

1791.

Walpole succeeds to the Earldom of Orford on the death of his nephew, third Earl (5 Dec.).

1795.

Death of Field-Marshal Conway (12 Oct.).

1797.

Death of Lord Orford (Horace Walpole) at his house in Berkeley Square (2 March).
Death of Mason (7 April).

[49] See Letter 248.

ADDENDA

Vol. i, p. xviii, l. 6, *add note on* Oromasdes: It is noteworthy in this connexion that Walpole writes 'Orozmades and Arimanius', for 'Oromasdes and Arimanes', in his letter to Mann of Feb. 27, 1770.

Vol. i, p. 135, n. 14, *add*: either directly, or indirectly through the *Rape of the Lock*—

> 'Some thought it mounted to the Lunar sphere,
> Since all things lost on earth are treasur'd there.'
>
> (Canto v, ll. 113–14.)

Vol. i, p. 179, n. 5, *add*: no doubt suggested by Lyndaraxa, the name of a character in Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*.

Vol. i, p. 309, l. 3, *add note on* Parsley beds: This allusion is explained by the following passage in Gay's *Recipe for Stewing Veal*—

> 'Some sprigs * of that bed
> Where children are bred.'
>
> * Parsley. *Gay.*

Vol. ii, p. 93, n. 22, *add*: From a letter (as yet unpublished) of Walpole to Conyers Middleton in the Waller Collection, dated Nov. 22, 1741, in which a copy of the poem was enclosed, it appears that Walpole's *Epistle from Florence* was suggested by Middleton's *Letter from Rome* (first published in 1729).

Vol. ii, p. 229, n. 5, *add*: The allusion in the next sentence is no doubt to Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated on the principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation* (1738–41).

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Names of persons printed in *italics* in the Index are those of previous editors, or of persons (mentioned in the notes) from whom the present Editor has received assistance.

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